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A Stenographic Report of the
Interviews Obtained by the
Alva W. Taylor Good Will
Mission in the City of Mexico
from July 28 to August 9, 1926

Preface

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of Dr. Alva W. Taylor, secretary of the Board of Social Welfare of the Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis, Ind., a party of thirty-two persons from the United States arrived in the City of Mexico July 28, 1926, and remained until August 10, studying the problems of Mexico from every angle with the hope of promoting good will between the two great republic divided by the Rio Grande. The party was organized by Dr. Taylor in the winter and spring of 1926 without any thought of timing the visit to coincide with the religious crisis which reached a high point while the group was in the Mexican capital. Each member of the group paid his own expenses. All members of the group were Protestants; they came from fifteen states and various professions. Most of them were actively identified with Protestant religious enterprises, but each one went as an individual seeking facts and not as the official representative of any organization.

The members of the party were: Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Indianapolis; Miss Ruth Taylor, Indianapolis; Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, secretary of the commission on international justice and good will of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City; Dr. Miles H. Krumbine, pastor of the Parkside Lutheran church, Buffalo, and Mrs. Krumbine; Dr. Howard E. Jensen, professor of sociology in Butler University, Indianapolis, and Mrs. Jensen; Dr. Joseph C. Todd, dean of the School of Religion, Indiana University, Bloomington, and Mrs. Todd; Tolbert F. Reavis, professor in the School of Religion, Indiana University, Bloomington; Dr. J. W. Putnam, dean of Butler University, Indianapolis; F. F. Grim, dean of Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N. C.; P. E. Baker, chaplain of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Mary W. Roe, missionary to the American Indians, Colony, Okla.; H. E. Beckler, associate secretary of the Ohio Council of Churches, Madison, O.; Dr. Robert S. Holmes, director of forums, and Mrs. Holmes, Daytona Beach, Fla.; Oliver C. Weist, pastor of First Community Church, Columbus, O.; John G. Fleck, pastor of a Lutheran church, Baltimore, Md.; Charles Sebold, pastor of the Congregational church, Vernal, Utah, and Mrs. Sebold; D. Finley Wood, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church, Zanesville, O.; Hugh Darsie, pastor of the church of the Disciples of Christ, Steubenville, O.; Howard Y. Williams, pastor of the People's Church, St. Paul, Minn.; W. O. Burgin, attorney, and Mrs. Burgin, Lexington, N. C.; Lacy Simms, pastor of the Spanish mission church of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Chicago; Laurence D. Kohlmeyer, president of the Kolograph Company, manufacturer of portable moving picture machines, Indianapolis; Miss Anna M. Klingenhagen, dean of women, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.; Miss Osee M. Dill, physician, Indianapolis; Dr. Francis M. Williams, physician, and mayor of Richmond, Ind.; Joseph Myers, Jr., managing editor of *The Christian*, a journal of religion, Kansas City, Mo.

Miss Catherine Duval Smith, director of Y. W. C. A. work in the republic of Mexico for five years, and Dr. Andres Osuna, a member of the Carranza cabinet and a noted Mexican educator, were the official guides, interpreters and friends of the group in its course of study. Daniel Gish, a citizen of the United States, instructor in aviation for the Mexican army and a close friend of Senor Luis Morones, secretary of commerce and labor, aided in arranging interviews with Mexican governmental officials.

Following its two weeks' study, the group approved and released to newspapers the following statement of findings:

"This group of thirty-two students from the United States has spent two weeks in an intensive study of the Mexican situation, covering the tense days around August 1. We have interviewed representatives of labor, of education, of both Mexican and foreign business, of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, of the Protestant churches, and of the government. All have received us with courtesy and talked to us freely.

"We have seen no riots nor any signs of violence. We have searched for such in vain and could discover no disturbances beyond a few of minor type. We are assured by representatives of all groups, even those opposed to the government, that the Calles government is strong, is in full command of the situation, and that they anticipate no serious trouble.

"We believe a program of education and social reform is necessary to the rehabilitation of Mexico. Without passing judgment on details or on the methods used, we believe the Calles administration is engaged in a great program of social reform, and that all who are truly interested in the welfare of Mexico will cooperate in its essential undertakings.

"We believe that when the churches in Mexico accept, as they have done in the United States, the fundamental democratic principle that every individual, irrespective of his religion, owes civic loyalty to the state rather than to the church, that the religious question will be settled in Mexico and that the church will prosper the more for it."

The following pages contain the report by a public stenographer of the principal interviews obtained by the Taylor seminar group, and certain additional matter regarded as necessary to an understanding of the present situation in Mexico. It is hoped this pamphlet may supplement the individual efforts of the members of the group in promoting friendly relations between Mexico and the United States.

J. M.

The Views of President Calles

AS THE CLIMAX of its study tour, the Taylor group was received by President Plutarco Elias Calles at Chapultepec Castle, the home of the President, Monday, August 9, at 12:30 P. M. The President dismissed formalities and answered questions from the group for about an hour. Dr. Andres Osuna was the interpreter. Following is a stenographic report of the interview:

CALLES: I am heartily pleased to receive this representative group from the United States. I am delighted to see you and to know that you have come to investigate conditions in Mexico, and to get first hand information so that you may be able to go back and inform the American public of the real conditions and about the reports that have been circulated by enemies of Mexico and enemies of my own administration. I am ready to enter into conversation with you. I am also ready to answer any questions you may have, or do my best to answer them, regarding conditions of this country.

QUESTION: The charge is made constantly that the administration is anti-religious. We should like to have a statement from the President.

CALLES: The government on religious questions has no given tendency. To the Mexican government all religions are equally worthy of respect. All religions get equal protection and liberty. The opinion of the officials of the government is that all religions are good because they have a moral tendency. The difficulties in Mexico have been provoked by Mexican representatives of the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church. The Catholic clergy is an intolerant clergy. They think all ought to conform to their dogmas and ought not be allowed any other religion. At present they cannot do what they used to do. They cannot now persecute members of any other religion. Of course, the government of the Republic had to suppress the outrages of the Catholics. On the other hand, the Catholic clergy has always been trying to keep from obeying the laws. They have never been willing to obey any other authority than that of Rome. In that way they have been trying to make fun of the institutions of the country. What better ground, logically, could the government have had on which to take extreme and drastic measures to make them obey the law. The Catholic clergy has always had the tendency, not only here but in all parts of the world—but its action is more visible in Latin America—to keep the masses in the most absolute ignorance; it has only tried to make fanatics of these masses without ever being a factor in the moral and intellectual development of the people. The Catholic clergy throughout our history has had the tendency to absorb the economic resources of the country. During the period of Spanish domination and down to our days it has tried to absorb all our wealth. The clergy knows that in controlling the economic power of the country they control the political power also. Their efforts have always been towards keeping in their control the political power. It is this procedure of the Roman Catholic clergy that has wrought in our country the bloodiest struggles; the War of Three Years, the War of Reform, and many of the later revolutionary movements in Mexico had their origin in the clergy's doings. Liberal ideas have triumphed and the economic and social revolution that is taking place in Mexico no longer tolerates the intrusion of the Catholic clergy in matters that are not properly spiritual.

QUESTION: We have been told both here and in the United States that in some cases the measures applied have been too radical.

CALLES: Point me out a concrete example. Have you any to tell me?

ANSWER: None.

CALLES: The Federal Constitution of the Republic, that is our basic law, establishes certain principles concerning the clergy, but no penalties had been fixed for those who were found to infringe against these principles. For example, the constitution forbids priests or ministers of any religion whatever to avail themselves of the pulpit to deliver sermons or addresses of a seditious character, but no penalty had been established by law with which to punish the trespass until very recently when the amendments to the penal law were enacted. Now the clergy protests against this law, evincing thereby its intention of violating it. If, at this moment, there were no regulations imposing penalties for robbery, would it be justifiable to protest against the enactment of a regulation establishing the penalty for such demeanor? Thieves would protest, but men with no intention of dedicating themselves to robbery would not do so; that is to say, that protest would come only from law breakers. The Constitution of the Republic says that all acts of public worship are prohibited outside church edifices; and now the new penal law imposes a penalty on all those who violate this regulation. The clergy protest against this. Why? Undoubtedly because it has the intention of not fulfilling the law. Mexico has been forced to take these measures because of the experience it has had during centuries. Pulpits have been used as platforms for seditious propaganda and that is where our internal wars have been fostered; and it is because of this the priests have been forbidden to make such bad use of their platforms. Acts of public worship outside of the church have been forbidden because they are means which the priests utilized to provoke disorders and riots. The Government of the Republic is obligated to have the Constitution respected and fulfilled. There cannot be any social class exempt from obedience to the law.

QUESTION: In case the priests admitted the Government was in the right and promised to comply with the law, would the measure be withdrawn?

CALLES: The law would continue in force, but if the clergy complied with its provisions there would not arise any difficulties nor would there be needed any application of the penalties established.

QUESTION: Some of us are ministers of religion. In our country we use the pulpit to discuss political matters of general interest. Could the same thing be done in this country?

CALLES: In Mexico the law forbids anything in addresses or sermons of seditious, political character, for you must understand that in these Latin American countries where the clergy is not in power, it is always against the government.

QUESTION: We would like to know if priests can perform acts pertaining to their ministry in private houses according to the law.

CALLES: The Government is not interested in questions of beliefs or dogma. Within the church the clergy can perform whatever acts they may desire that are religious and spiritual in character, and within private houses they can also baptize and administer all existing sacraments, and any sacraments they may wish to invent.

QUESTION: In the United States ministers of religion cannot speak in the name of the church when dealing with subjects or matters that are not concerned with religion. When they speak of such matters they do so in their own name.

CALLES: Here it is not so. In Mexico the clergy, in order to attack the law, do so in the name of their religion.

QUESTION: We have been informed that Protestant ministers are violating the law as much as the Catholic priests and that the Catholic priests are struggling in behalf of all religions.

CALLES: That is not exact. It is a lie. The Protestants are strictly complying with the law.

QUESTION: In case there should come as visitors to Mexico any Protestant ministers, would they be allowed to exercise their ministry within the churches?

CALLES: No. I will explain to you why. Superficially looked at, this appears as a too radical measure, but we have been forced to enact a law general in character. Foreign clergy, especially of the Roman Catholic persuasion, have been a veritable calamity to our people. Thousands of priests have been sent to us from Europe, especially of Spanish and Italian nationality; these priests have been the scum of the clergy—what the Europeans themselves have not wanted to bear with. They have come to this country with the purpose only of exploiting us; they have come to make fanatics of the common people, and have tried by every possible means to maintain the masses in ignorance; they have come attempting to absorb the economic power of the country, to take from the nation all the money they can, which they carry to Europe; they have always tried to interfere with the internal affairs of the country; they have never been factors of cooperation for the forward movement of the people; they have never cooperated for the moral development of the nation. Confronted by this invasion of contaminating elements the nation has found it necessary to take preventive measures. The law has had to be general in character, hence we could not specify that certain foreign ministers could exercise their ministry in Mexico.

QUESTION: Have the Protestant ministers expressed to you that they are in accord with the Government's program? Have they expressed to you their willingness to comply with the laws?

CALLES: Yes, they have made me such expressions, not only here but from the United States as well. I have received from them copies of orders that their higher officials have issued, commanding Protestant ministers to comply with the Mexican laws.

QUESTION: We would like to know the program of the Mexican government for social development.

CALLES: With much pleasure. I am very glad that you ask me concerning this matter. The Mexican Government's program is very intricate and very difficult to carry out, but we are working towards its realization with great faith—in this sense I am fanatical. Its most difficult point is that which refers to the popular classes, meaning by this the workers both of the city and of the country, especially the latter who are chiefly Indians. The peasant masses of the country have been since the colonial epoch until a short time ago under conditions of slavery; we can almost say they did not own the air they breathed. Land property in Mexico was held by the Conquerors and this property has been handed down among them from generation to generation so that the owners of the land have been only a few privileged mortals, while the millions of human beings that live in the fields have been subjected to a condition of slavery. These poor peasants have not owned the land on which to build their homes nor even the two yards in which to be buried. The land holders, and the clergy fits in here, have maintained them always in ignorance. The clergy has always sided with the mighty ones of the earth and have never been friends of the humble ones as Jesus commanded. Wages that have been paid in the haciendas to the tillers of the land have been so miserable that they have not sufficient to satisfy the necessities of the stomach. The pig of

the hacendado (land owner) has been better fed than the peones (farm hand serfs) who work from sunrise to sunset, for those wages have been from fifteen to eighteen centavos ($7\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 cents American) a working day. Earning only this, it has been impossible for them to meet the food requirements for themselves and their families. The government which arose from the Mexican Revolution has made every effort to aid the peasant classes and, therefore, laws have been enacted to give the Indian pueblos the lands they have needed for their lives' sakes. We desire that these poor Indians who were slaves may be freed from such a pitiful condition and become small land owners. Not only that, but the government has realized that the problem was not solved with the giving of lands as the only measure, and so the financial question has also been tackled through the organization of a financial organization. As the peones were in direst poverty, they had not the wherewithall for starting to work and making the land given them by the government fruitful. We established then banks for financing those who had been given land by the government, with the National Bank of Agricultural Credit as the central unit. These banks are entrusted with obtaining for the peasants farming implements, machinery and the necessary livestock. At the same time, much attention is being given to the social organization of these masses. Young people especially trained for this work in the government schools are organizing the former peones into cooperative groups to free them from being economically exploited. In this manner we desire to attain to the economic independence of the peasants, because we believe that first and prime attention should be given to the exigencies of the stomach. But at the same time we are developing a very intense cultural effort. We are establishing schools in all centers of population, no matter how small they are, because we believe that it is absolutely indispensable to raise the intellectual level of the people, especially of the working people, this being the best help that can be given the masses, and the best way of making ours a great and respected people. The Government's program calls for a thousand additional schools every year throughout the Republic. This year we opened a thousand schools above the number that were functioning last year and in next year's budget we are taking care of a thousand schools besides those that are now in operation. My idea is that wherever people have settled down, wherever there are twenty resident children or more, there should be a public school. This work we are carrying on in the country is matched by the effort we are likewise making in the cities, where we are giving special attention to the laboring classes, because it is my belief that it is these classes who need most immediate help, considering that the well-to-do can defend themselves. In this country, labor organization has developed intensely within the last few years; almost all the trades are unionized, and the government is making an effort to make possible for these organizations to have the benefit of acquiring all possible culture. Schools and libraries have been established, especially in the trade unions, and educational lectures are being given constantly to them. This very important work has made possible already the great evolution that has taken place in the minds of the working classes, who have advanced ideas. You can see for yourselves that Mexican labor is backing the program and the policies of the Government. As I said before, the fulfillment of this program is very difficult because everything has to be done for the first time. Our task is arduous. We are in a period of development, of growth. The Government's chief aim has been the economic independence of the country. We have overlooked no effort that we can make, that can be effective, towards having Mexico become a self-sufficient country. The struggle to attain this is intense, but after two years of such work we find ourselves near the realization of our purpose.

The Government budget is well balanced, the Government is fulfilling its obligations, both domestic and foreign; the Government is opening highways and carrying out large irrigation works; the irrigation planned calls for the rehabilitation of a million hectares of land. This plan will be a reality in four years at the latest and thereafter Mexico will be in condition to produce not only all that is required for its own life but also a surplus with which to come to the aid of other peoples. We have achieved the complete reorganization of our finances, with the result that we have now all the resources we need for our national life. At this very moment there are great schools under construction for the agricultural education of the peasants. On September next we shall be ready to inaugurate four of these large schools whose purpose it will be to train men into able agriculturists. These schools are not only practical, but they will offer all of the comforts and all of the facilities that universities offer. The Government's work has for its purpose the greatest welfare possible for the masses; its aim is to make for the happiness of the greatest number of homes. Naturally this work does not meet with the approval of the privileged classes of the nation.

QUESTION: It is said in the United States that the program of the Mexican Government is patterned after the Russian Government.

CALLES: Mexico patterns nothing after anybody. The Mexican Government has its own problems and solves them according to its own necessities. It does not transplant here anything that is exotic.

DR. TAYLOR: Mr. President, if there is anything we can do for Mexico, we shall be only too glad to do so. Can you suggest how we can render your country some service?

CALLES: I thank you heartily for the good will that you express. There is, indeed, a way in which you can be of help and that is to tell the truth about what you have found here.

The Historic Background of Mexico

THE first item on the program of study by the Taylor group was an address on the historic background of present conditions in Mexico, by Carleton Beals, author of "Mexico—An Interpretation," an American writer who has spent several years in Mexico. He spoke as follows:

When Cortez came to Mexico he found social organizations and governments ranking with and, in certain things perhaps, surpassing those found in Mexico today. Four or five groups stand out more prominently than the rest. One of these, the Nahuas, extended through that part of Mexico along the mountains of the western coast. Before the coming of the Nahuas was an earlier race, the origin of which is not known, called the Toltecs. They migrated from the North about 700 A. D. The earlier group was replaced by the Nahuas, of which the Aztecs were a tribe. The late comers adopted the civilization already there. A superior race was the Maya, occupying the territory about Yucatan and extending to Honduras and parts of Salvador. Each of these tribes left certain relics of their civilization, and certain definite contributions to the parts of the country which they occupied. The inhabitants of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec are today a distinct race, living largely apart from the rest of Mexico.

The capital of the Indian civilization was on the site of what is known

today as Mexico City. It was founded in 1325. It developed from a settlement of lake dwellers into the modern City of Mexico, which does not represent Mexico, but a hodgepodge of American, Spanish, and Indian peoples.

The colonial regime did not develop the Indian, but exploited him. Certain institutions were imposed upon the people by the conquering race. The priests were men of sterling qualities and came with high ideals, leaving lucrative positions to come to convert the natives, and they protested against the cruel exploitation by the conquerers. Gradually the religious conquest became more and more like that of Spain and the church worked less and less in behalf of the Indian, which finally resulted in a rigid caste system with Spain at the top. Next was the Creole, who was denied many of the privileges of the Spaniard, having few rights in the government. Next was the Mestizo, who belonged neither to one civilization nor to the other, without country or culture. Lastly came the Indian upon whom fell the full burden of the exploitation.

The movement for Mexican independence was not for freedom, but was a reactionary movement coming at a time when the old world was being attacked by Napoleon and the old order was passing. The Creoles wished to shut out the changes of the old world and to keep the new political system from taking root in America. Independence did not help the Indian. The reactionary movement came at a time when he was not ready for independence. The Mexican government was established upon the basis of a Catholicism far more intolerant than that in Spain at the same time. With the coming of the idea of democracy came the development of a federal army whose overbearing and egotistical officers imposed their will upon a people who, having been submerged for three centuries, were easy prey to such efforts.

Juarez was a pure blooded Indian from Oaxaca. It was not until he was in his 'teens that he learned Spanish and how to read. Later he studied law, became governor of his state, a member of the governing body of Mexico, and finally president of his country. He spent much of his time in exile and much in unequal contests. He had, at one time, to sell peanuts on the streets of New Orleans. Juarez introduced a new epoch in Mexico. During the regime of Diaz, when the intervention of foreign capital began, much land and mineral and agricultural resources of the country were handed over to foreigners. As a result, there came the revolution of Madero in 1910.

The earlier program of Madero showed little grasp of the agrarian and economic problems of the country. In Mexico there was no philosophical background for a revolution. It just happened. It was a pragmatic revolution, finally ending in the Queretero constitution of 1917, which was adopted to solve certain problems up to that time. The most notable ideas were antagonism to the church, a strong Indian influence, a reaction against existing industrial conditions, and an attempt to reserve Mexico for Mexicans. The people clamored for means of popular expression heretofore denied them. It was an interruption of foreign intervention and the incoming of foreign capital. During the period of independence there was no real form of popular organization. The present period is the first since the Conquest in which the Mexican people have found a means of achieving popular organization. The attempt at popular organization is something new and untried in Mexican history. There is a tendency toward social organization of popular groups attempting to work out problems involved, rather than having them solved by selfish or egotistical and unfriendly ruling groups, who constantly quarrel among themselves.

The period of reconstruction following the revolution includes the administrations of Caranza, Obregon, and Calles. There are very difficult problems

to be solved and we should sympathize with the people in their effort to establish a plan of human liberty. We should not harass or suspect them. We are dealing with a problem, not merely of Mexico, but of all Latin America. We are face to face with a great racial bloc and a great racial culture. It is not the mere question of a moment; it is a much more serious business. It is the question of a policy toward Latin America and the future peaceful relationships of the Western Hemisphere.

Questions and Answers

QUESTION: Was it Juarez, the peanut seller, who later returned and ousted Maximilian?

ANSWER: It was.

QUESTION: Will you evaluate the injustice done to those who came here to develop the country?

ANSWER: We must consider the future happiness of the people as well as the question of justice to those who have served. Some foreign capital suffered as a result of the 1910-1926 revolution, while some of the investors made a great deal at the time. The restitution of properties and the re-ordering of social organizations is somewhat the same principle of conservation as that followed in the United States. The earlier grants of Spain were based upon agricultural, pasturage, and mineral rights, and many old titles have been handed down from one to the other without being cleared up. The idea of sub-soil rights has long been in existence and was in dispute prior to 1917. Caranza insisted upon the filing of titles and was opposed by oil and mineral interests because of an agreement between them not to contest each other's titles. Many disputes arose from this opposition. At one time, upon the investigation of certain objections of the United States, it was found that Mexican oil companies were paying more taxes to the United States than to Mexico. The foreign property holding law limits the holding of foreign property along the boundaries and says they must relinquish right to appeal through diplomatic channels to their own government in case of disputes arising with Mexico. These things have lessened the inflow of foreign capital. Perhaps Mexico will be better off with a slower inflow of foreign capital. A too rapid introduction of foreign culture and capital may cause trouble as in Mexico and China today.

QUESTION: What will be the result of the withdrawal of foreign capital from Mexico?

ANSWER: It is doubtful whether or not the amount of foreign capital invested in Mexico is any less than before the revolution. It is possible that the amount is even greater.

QUESTION: Has foreign capital suffered?

ANSWER: Most of the petroleum companies have managed to pay dividends.

QUESTION: What has the investment of foreign money left behind for Mexico?

ANSWER: The Spaniards left beautiful churches and evidences of civilization, but when the oil and minerals are taken out, we do not know what will be left. The government gets a revenue; Mexicans get employment, at perhaps a higher wage than in many other places in Mexico.

QUESTION: Do the local states have the power to build schools with tax money?

ANSWER: Taxes on petroleum are federal and go into funds for the general administration of the government.

QUESTION: Does a consciousness of original indigenous groups still exist today, affecting the social groups of today?

ANSWER: Yes. The Indians are conscious of old tribal relationships. The Mayas have made several attempts to separate from the central government. An appeal was made to the United States and to Guatemala as late as 1920.

QUESTION: Is the group consciousness based on old traditions?

ANSWER: It may be consciousness of kind, a certain social homogeneity which has historical roots. There is some survival as to religious concepts, handicrafts, and language.

QUESTION: Is the government doing anything to educate the masses on current problems?

ANSWER: I do not know whether or not the government has set out with anti-church propaganda. Anti-church ideas are a motivating cause of the revolution. Educational work is being done throughout the nation in the way of manual training, etc.

QUESTION: What per cent of the children will be without schooling if the church schools are suppressed?

ANSWER: Schools are not obliged to close provided they do not teach religion. Churches have known they were conducting establishments contrary to the government in Mexico; therefore, they are as much culpable as is the government. The greater part of the school population was in government schools.

QUESTION: Will there be a loss to school facilities as to faculty, etc.?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Are government teachers ready to take up the work?

ANSWER: The government has an educational system. If private schools cease to exist, the government schools will go on. But the government has difficulties on account of lack of money.

QUESTION: Is there any way of estimating what proportion of time these church teachers gave to secular teaching and what will be the loss in ordinary education as done in public schools?

ANSWER: I will not venture upon any statistics because I have not checked up on conditions.

QUESTION: Is foreign capital obedient and becoming friendly to government?

ANSWER: A group of oil people said they would agree to government regulations if given special concessions by the government. They see which way the wind blows and then obey the laws if it is to their advantage to do so. Naturally they resent the restrictions and call it persecution at first, until they become accustomed to the law, then they obey with less and less of complaint. Many are agreeing to work by the new laws.

QUESTION: To what extent would native Mexicans be able to carry on their industries if the United States and England should withdraw their invested capital?

ANSWER: The withdrawal of foreign capital is doubtful and improbable. Such withdrawal, should it take place, would be disastrous. It would be impossible for the Mexicans to take up the lines of industry immediately, and develop them.

QUESTION: Is the present situation due to the religious history?

ANSWER: I would hesitate to attribute all to one cause. The conflict is of long standing. Many factors are responsible. The revolution leaders have had a consistent anti-church history, however.

Mexican Protestant Views

ON July 29 the Taylor group heard addresses by several Mexican Protestant leaders and asked questions of them. The Rev. Vicente Mendoza, pastor of a prominent Methodist Episcopal Church of Mexico City said:

Perhaps you have heard in the United States that the Mexican government is swallowing Protestants. We represent practically all orthodox Protestant churches. For the last fifty years we have been doing our work under the handicap arising from the old traditions of these people, created by and founded upon Catholic thought and traditions. When we came here, the Catholic church started persecution everywhere. Nevertheless, we have succeeded with our schools and all of them are filled to overflowing with students. This means that the Catholic people accept our standards of teaching and recognize the superiority of our schools over those of the government. Now the government has started a real attempt toward establishing better schools. Our Christian schools are still on the very best basis of morality and adhere to a high type of Christian teaching. We have conquered in Mexico by means of our schools.

We find serious difficulties because of propaganda of Catholics. When we came, they circulated the story that we were here to give money to those who would go to our church. Later they scattered the announcement that some missionaries were coming with much money in order to make Protestants of all the people.

Another handicap is certain social ideas which make it difficult for us to enlist certain classes of men in Mexico. They are our friends, but only in the shadows of night. They go to our schools and applaud our work but time after time, upon meeting us on the street, they turn their faces to avoid greeting us and showing that we are their friends. Especially is this true where the Catholic church has a stronger hold and influence on the people. In Mexico City, where there are more liberal ideas and more intercourse between men and women it is not so true, but it is true even here to some extent. They fear for their social prestige. The women particularly are loyal to the Catholic church. Many men go with their wives, even when they do not believe as do the women. When we were starting a new line of education in our churches, they realized our ability and helped us, showing an appreciation of our efforts. When we are farther along in our work and the system is better developed, we may succeed in getting these men of high position to join us, openly. Now we are going ahead with our work and are seldom molested. Sometimes, in little towns, we are embarrassed in our work by people influenced by the teaching of priests. We have been accused of accepting a foreign belief and of being untrue to our own country. This accusation is made only by people of a certain type, who do not think for themselves, but who are usually led by priests or so-called patriots.

In spite of all hindrances, our work is going ahead and many opportunities are being opened to us. If you go to our churches next Sunday, you will find every seat taken. My church accommodates more than 600 people and all seats are taken every Sunday. In time of difficulties we sometimes have a larger attendance.

We feel handicapped by the recent regulations of the government, but different laws cannot be made for different people. One law must be for all. Though the law aims at the Roman Church, we must submit because it is best for all of us. We have no missionaries really, now, in Mexico. The work is under the Mexican leadership entirely. Our people are a good example of

submission to the law. We are glad to submit. We can find other ways of spreading the influence of the gospel. They may separate our schools from our churches if they wish. We can teach religion in many ways. We are trying to teach through personality, in life, in the street, everywhere. We Protestants submit to the law and obey the law. If the law is against us, there is a legal way to try to change it, better than the effort to change it by breaking it.

Now is the chance for the Protestant people. Everything is said to be made in our behalf. The government is treating us exactly as it treats other people, but we are not suffering because we are obeying the law. We work together for the good of all the people. We do not object to this restriction. We are willing to obey our government because we know it is for our good and for the good of other people.

Questions and Answers

QUESTION: Are the Protestant pastors really not worried over the present situation? Do the Protestant pastors as a body agree with you? Are they willing to go ahead with their work or do they object?

(All those present said they agreed with Mendoza in their willingness to accept and make the best of the situation.)

QUESTION: Are the pastors entirely in agreement with the recent limitation of the religious press?

ANSWER: You misunderstand. The government is only enforcing the law of 1917. No restriction or regulation of the press has molested the Protestant people.

QUESTION: Why did the government feel it necessary to forbid comments on governmental action?

ANSWER: Because Catholics have made obedience to their own rules so compelling and the authority of a priest is so undisputed that comment by the Catholic papers would be compelling to every Catholic without any chance for questioning.

QUESTION: Do any of the Protestant ministers write for the daily press?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Is there a Catholic political party?

ANSWER: That party is dormant but they have their own officials and are waiting for an opportunity. When Madero came into power they came forward and organized the National Catholic Party, which is still organized, but they are not before the public. The Constitution forbids any political party having a religious name.

QUESTION: Why did the Constitution prohibit the clergy from having the power of voting?

ANSWER: They wanted to allow for real democracy and a free expression of opinion. The opinion of the priests here is accepted blindly by every Catholic and every Catholic would vote with the priests.

Dr. Andres Osuna, distinguished educator, formerly governor of the State of Tamaulipas, spoke as follows:

The religious situation in Mexico is to be properly understood through knowing the historical background. When the conquerers came, the priests came with them with religious authority. When they appealed to the Pope for authority to possess the new world, the Pope divided it between Spain and Portugal. The Concordat provided authority to Spanish kings to recommend

the clergy to office; thus the king and the Catholic church in Spain were brought together. When the work was first begun here, really great missionaries were sent over. But their work was not continued. After three hundred years, very little result of their efforts could be seen. The chief aim soon became that of keeping the colonies obedient to Spain.

The entire matter of education was turned over to the church. Though there were five or six colleges in Mexico City, the first being as early as 1553, the work was limited. As educators, the church had all the money they wanted—real estate and endowments. Authorities say that the church owned about 50 per cent of all the real estate, some placing the percentage as high as $66\frac{2}{3}$. In spite of the enormous wealth of the church, 300 years of the colonial regime left about one-half of one per cent of the people with the ability to read and write, even though the natives were eager and able to learn. Of six million people, about thirty thousand knew how to read and write. They had the religious instruction of the church, but they had not been taught Christianity. The majority of the people were just as pagan as when the Spaniards came into the country.

Relics of Indian architecture, including the Aztec calendar and other pieces of sculpture, were unearthed, collected, and placed on exhibit in Mexico City. It was noticed that some of the natives, the full blooded Indians, came always late in the afternoon to see the exhibits. Upon investigation, it was learned that they came to worship the idols and to bring offerings. They were, after three hundred years, worshipping their old Indian idols. This is only an illustration of the religious conditions of the masses.

The church was closely connected with the Spanish government. The archbishop was a great power allied with the viceroy. But when the War of Independence came, there was a division of the clergy. Spain decreed that all officers in the church should be selected from those born and educated in Spain, so as to prevent Mexico from slipping away from Spanish influence. The well educated and intelligent native born had no chance at all. The lower clergy was in sympathy with the revolution, but the higher officers cursed the movement and persecuted the sympathizers. There was a tremendous conflict between parts of the clergy during the War of Independence.

The Spanish passed the Constitution of 1812 restricting the church and confiscating part of its property, but the law was put away when Ferdinand returned to power. Later the king of Spain was forced to acknowledge the Constitution. The priests here, seeing that they would lose their property, entered into an agreement with Iturbide to get him appointed chief of the colonial army here and to bring about the independence of the colonies in order to save the church, but not in order to help the colonies. The church was, therefore, left as a state church and the same hierarchy was left as ruler of the country, in spite of the fact that for more than ten years they had been fighting the movement of independence.

Then we began an independent life and tried to organize parties. There was organized a Conservative Party, which was a church party, and a Liberal Party. The church stood always in the way of the Liberal Party. The Mexican independent government sought a contract from the Pope to have the same privileges that Spain had. The bishops protested against the congress and declared that they could not accept such a contract. They were willing to be under the government of Spain, but not under the independent government here. The Liberal element then passed the Constitution of 1857 restricting the privileges of the church and establishing the basis of a modern democratic government. From 1821 to 1857 the Liberal Party had always to fight revolutions fomented by the other party when such party was not in control. Then

came the struggle between 1858, '59, and '60, which is known as the War of Reformation because the Reform Laws were enacted, making it clear that the church and state must be separated. When defeated, the church party sent to Europe and tried to establish a monarchy under Maximilian, supported by a French army.

When the long administration of General Diaz was established, he followed closely the platform of the Liberal party, but later he gave up altogether to the Catholic church and allowed them to break the laws any way they pleased.

When the revolution was started under Madero in 1910, the church supported the dictatorial government of General Diaz. After Madero was elected president, they fomented a conspiracy to overthrow him. Finally General Huerta took hold of the government and killed Madero and Vice President Pina-Suarez. Of course, the church was backing him up and continued to do so when the whole nation rose in arms against the usurper and the assassin general.

The three or four years of civil war made the struggle between the church and the revolutionary movement more bitter. In any split of the revolutionary forces, the church always supported the group which was trying to re-establish the old regime. Therefore, the church was in the field of politics and of civil war, always standing for the reactionary movement.

After the revolutionaries controlled the country, they had a public election of a congress. The whole nation convened at Queretero and enacted the new Constitution of 1917. In that Constitution, they took up all the laws which had been a part of our Constitution since 1857 restricting the activities of the church, and added a few more to correct all the evils in the church field and to secure the complete independence of the church and the state.

The church has always had, in Mexico, a political program more prominent than its religious program. Today we have the government endeavoring to put down the political working of the church, enforcing the laws to prevent any church from getting political control. There is no religious persecution at all.

Questions and Answers

QUESTION: What particular political program of the Catholic church is it that has so recently caused the government to take a stand?

ANSWER: The Catholics desire to put down the Constitution. They do not believe in the separation of the church and the state. They want the state under the control of the church. They wish to have the Catholic doctrine taught in all schools. The government has made regulations restricting all private schools to counteract this.

QUESTION: Do you feel that the government thought the Catholic people were beginning a revolution?

ANSWER: Yes. It was found that in five or six cities a revolution was being organized to overthrow the present government. One Catholic told me that the priests and the nuns were causing all this trouble. One nun said that they were working to overthrow this government. These are just examples of information which I, personally, have received from my friends.

QUESTION: Are any of the priests supporting the government?

ANSWER: They do not dare challenge the power of the church.

QUESTION: How many of the priests in Mexico City are of Mexican birth?

ANSWER: At present, I think, all are. It is the same with the bishops.

QUESTION: Are any of the priests at heart favorable to the procedure?

ANSWER: I believe so, but they do not say so publicly. Many Catholics are also in harmony with the government. You will see in the parade next Sunday some of those who wish to show themselves favorable to the government. The majority of the Catholics do not believe in the program of the higher clergy of the church.

QUESTION: Are there any leaders among the Mexican Catholic priests who would go so far as to advocate the government against the church?

ANSWER: I believe if the bishops withdraw all priests from the churches as they plan to do next Saturday, it will be shown that there are many who really do not want to obey the bishops, but to abide by the law. Of course, the Catholic discipline is very rigid and strong, though many do not agree with it.

QUESTION: Are the Catholics more favorable to the Protestants now?

ANSWER: I believe they are. They at least acknowledge that we are a part of Christianity and do not call us heretics. We feel that we may expect a great increase in the Protestant church in the next few years. Education has probably helped the Protestants.

QUESTION: In what parts of Mexico have there been attempts to hatch plots against the Government?

ANSWER: In Aguascalientes, Durango, Queretero, Chihuahua, Jalisco, and in Puebla at one time.

QUESTION: How is oil connected with the cause of the Protestants?

ANSWER: The oil question has brought about all the foment. Oil investors want laws more suitable to their own methods of carrying on business. They are constantly bringing about agitation. The Catholics have not been able to overthrow the government, working alone. Now oil has offered them money to assist them in carrying out their plans and the conflict has come to a head. Oil is encouraged by the church and the church by oil interests. The conflict between the church and state would have been there just the same, if oil interests had not entered; but there would have been delay in bringing the matter to an issue.

QUESTION: Could the priests go ahead with their services if they wished?

ANSWER: Yes. It is practically an ecclesiastical strike.

QUESTION: What is the opinion of the Catholics in the United States?

ANSWER: They do not know conditions here. They are led to believe it is religious persecution. A Catholic clergyman in the United States said that if conditions in Mexico were explained to the Catholics in the United States, they would understand and they would welcome the explanation.

QUESTION: Do you believe the government will weather this crisis?

ANSWER: They have perfect control of the whole situation. There will be local difficulties, however. One Catholic told me that already armed troops were ready to protect some churches and to defend them against the committees to be sent by the government to take charge of them, turning them over to trustees appointed to take care of the church properties, keep the buildings open for the use of worshippers, prevent desecrations, etc.

QUESTION: What about the liberal group among the Catholics who have left the Catholic church without yet accepting the Protestant faith?

ANSWER: They are not making great progress. They lack leadership. It is possible that they may gain some ground during this strike.

QUESTION: Are some of the priests agnostic?

ANSWER: 99 per cent of the priests in Mexico are agnostic; every one to whom I have talked personally does not believe what he professes, but holds to his position as a business. It is his duty, his business to teach the people

certain doctrines, however little faith he himself may have in them. They do not know whether there is a God or not, but they profess to believe.

QUESTION: Is the government sending commissioners to the churches Sunday?

ANSWER: They will take charge of the churches Sunday, appointing groups of ten men to take care of the buildings. The Archbishop says that he will turn the church over to "the faithful". The government says the churches must be in charge of committees chosen by the government. The government offered to leave the churches in charge of committees selected by the membership, from their own congregations. Some of the churches complied and made the appointments; others refused. The only thing the bishop has done is to "turn it over to the faithful". Consequently the government says that the committees shall be of its own choice.

QUESTION: Does any law place the control of church property in the hands of the congregations?

ANSWER: The government says the property belongs to the government, and that they will put it into the hands of the group of people selected and accepted by the government. It is willing to allow the church to select the committee, but not the bishop. The Protestant church is obeying. The committee does not have control over the income, but only exists to take care of the church, to be responsible for its furnishings, etc. Systematic inventories are to be made so that all properties may be kept up with. They are to keep the buildings clean and in proper condition for the worship of the people. The Catholic church will still receive its revenues. The committee in charge of each church is to be chosen from its own congregation.

QUESTION: Will there be difficulty in finding men who are willing to serve on such committees?

ANSWER: Not in the case of Protestants. In many places committees are already being formed.

QUESTION: Does every church have a well defined limit of pastorate?

ANSWER: I do not know how it is in Mexico City, but there are some cities in which it is true in theory. They may have several priests in the same church, however.

QUESTION: Why does the government limit the number of churches?

ANSWER: The government limited the number of churches in order to protect the people. The government considers too many churches a burden upon the people.

QUESTION: What does the government plan to do with the property of the closed churches?

ANSWER: They have, in the past, used them for other public uses, such as libraries.

QUESTION: How many churches will be closed in Mexico City next Sunday because of the withdrawal of priests?

ANSWER: Eighty-two, the local papers say.

QUESTION: Can the government confiscate church property when they please?

ANSWER: Church properties were confiscated in the laws of 1859, but there has not been a rigid enforcement of the laws.

QUESTION: Does the government own the Protestant churches?

ANSWER: Theoretically, yes. In 1874 there was passed a law by which local congregations could own local church property. Many were incorporated under this law. These congregations may own their own church property according to the opinion of certain government officials. As a general principle the government can confiscate the property of the churches; in fact, has

already done so, though the confiscatory laws have not been entirely enforced. But there are many, many details of the law that remain yet to be worked out. Much work is being done now toward working out the various details.

QUESTION: Suppose a small church desires to sell out and move; can they sell their property?

ANSWER: Probably, with the permission of the government. I do not know exactly that.

QUESTION: What about starting a new church?

ANSWER: I do not know. The Constitution states that any new church belongs to the government. A new church can be built by submitting to the legal requirements of the government. But even then the building is in control of the government. The congregation must guarantee the use of the church all the time. It cannot be allowed to stand idle. The Constitution provides that the church can be used under legal restrictions. Much of this remains to be arranged. The government can close a church if it does not conform to the regulations.

QUESTION: Does the government have control of the income of the church and its general finances?

ANSWER: I believe so. Nothing has been said to the contrary.

QUESTION: Do the churches own property outside of the church building?

ANSWER: Such ownership is forbidden by law and the property can be confiscated if the ownership is discovered.

QUESTION: What is the relation of "oil to incense"? Do you know of the situation in Venezuela? The relation of the government of the United States to the dictatorship in Venezuela, the oil interests, the Catholics, etc.?

ANSWER: We know how they have been using money here freely to carry out their program of developing the oil industry. Much has been spent in bribes. Private meetings have been held in the United States by men interested in the oil industry in Mexico, in which meetings the government of Mexico was discussed. The Catholics and the oil interests of Mexico are working hand in hand in the United States. Most of the oil companies have accepted the existing regulations. They are not acting; they are waiting. I do not know anything about Venezuela.

QUESTION: Do any of the religious orders conduct secondary and preparatory schools?

ANSWER: No school can be in the hands of a church or the minister of any church. They may teach religion, in the secondary schools, but they must not be organized under the church. Ministers may teach even in primary schools. Churches may hold Sunday schools.

QUESTION: Can any non-Mexican born man speak at all in the churches at the present time?

ANSWER: The addition to the penal code gives definitions for the exercise of the ministry, which prevents non-Mexican born ministers speaking in the churches or in places which are regarded as church property.

QUESTION: Does the Catholic church oppose the circulation of Bibles among its people?

ANSWER: Yes and no. They claim that they recommend the circulation of Bibles here, but the price is very high. They say, "We have the Bibles", but the price says, "No".

QUESTION: Do they oppose the sale of Bibles by the Protestants?

ANSWER: It would be useless. The people are buying the Bible and the demand is greater than the supply. The government made a special edition of the Gospels, recently, for libraries and schools. The government en-

courages the circulation of Bibles. The Catholics want only their own Bible, published with notes.

H. Marroguin, a representative of the American Bible Society, answered the following questions:

QUESTION: How large is the circulation of the Bible in Mexico?

ANSWER: We sell about 33,000 volumes a year. About one-third are New Testaments. The Gospels sell at five centavos each. A new Catholic version of the Bible has just been published in El Paso. It sells for \$3.00, American money. Our cheapest Bible is sold for \$1.15, Mexican currency.

QUESTION: Is there any difference between the Catholic and the Protestant versions?

ANSWER: The Catholic authorized version is published with its own notes. There may be some difference. It is a handy volume. We shall give one to our colporteurs, to show the Catholics they do not know their own book.

QUESTION: Does the Catholic church publish any Bible without notes?

ANSWER: No, even the New Testament is published with notes.

QUESTION: When the Protestants give the gospel story to the natives, do they appear to hear it for the first time?

ANSWER: The priests have not taught them except to a small degree. The Virgin and the saints are given more emphasis. The recent administration has increased the interest in the Bible.

QUESTION: Is there a translation of the Bible into the various Indian languages?

ANSWER: No. At one time there were a few Gospels published in the Maya and Tarasco. Our government wants to educate the Indian in Spanish.

Dr. Osuna resumed answering questions as follows:

QUESTION: Do you think the closing of the churches Sunday will result in riots?

ANSWER: I do not. There may be, in isolated cases.

QUESTION: What will the average illiterate Catholic believe about the closing of churches?

ANSWER: He will blame the government. He has been taught that, in order to create a feeling of animosity toward the government. But there are many Catholics who do not believe all that the priests teach.

QUESTION: What is an interdict?

ANSWER: The Pope suspends all religious services. It means that when a country is under an interdict, no rites can be performed. It has never been used effectively in Mexico.

Mr. Mendoza later dictated a supplementary statement for inclusion in the records of the group. It was as follows:

The most common obstacles to Christian work among us are peculiar to all Roman Catholic countries of Spanish origin: superstition, ignorance and prejudice. Of course, all of these you find in every heathen country, but the opposition we meet in every Roman Catholic country is of a very peculiar type, especially in Mexico. This makes our work show rather slow results.

Two main obstacles we find: First, the attitude of the lower classes. With them the opposition is obstinate, hard, and many times, due to the ignorance and bigotry that prevails among them, their opposition takes violent forms. For this reason, many of our preachers and members in the country are giving their lives for their new faith. Roman Catholics are being educated

in a school of hate and contempt toward anybody who doesn't believe as the Catholics do, and they cannot find a more unworthy and despicable man than a Protestant. The Roman Catholic is always ready to believe strange stories about Protestants and their religious meetings.

The opposition among the higher classes, not only among the wealthy but among the intellectual takes on another form: indifference, contempt, and even scorn. We have not been able to reach the better class, not for lack of definite effort or for lack of men of real ability, but because the higher classes are full of prejudice against us, like the common people but for entirely different reasons. To the better classes, the Protestants in Mexico deserve all contempt because they have accepted a foreign religion, a "made in the U. S." religion, leaving off the religion of our fathers, the "only" church. The national pride is moreover touched when they assert that we Protestant people are only helping to carry on the "pacific conquest" of Mexico by Anglo-Saxons, that we are traitors to the home land, that we have sold ourselves to American gold. Even among the better classes it is accepted as a fact that we give money to every convert, that the American missionary goes to the homes of the poor people with pockets full of money for distribution among the families and in this way to secure new converts to our faith. How can they believe such nonsense? We cannot find out. This is a charge made against Protestant missionaries from the beginning of the work fifty years ago. What missionary society could be rich enough to give away thousands of dollars to thousands of converts in Mexico and in other countries?

Among the wealthy and the intellectual are many whom we count as our friends. Visiting the United States, many would attend Protestant meetings and even be known as Protestants, but in Mexico they don't do this because they would lose their social standing in uniting with the Protestants. Perhaps they go to mass, not because they believe in Catholicism but because of social reasons, to escort the wife and the daughter. To go to the Protestants would be to degrade themselves. They are like Nicodemus, friendly and appreciative in private, but never in the open. They praise our work and always give a good word, but this is as far as they go.

But there is always a bright side. Though the higher and the lower classes find it very difficult to accept the preaching in our churches, they are ready to accept the teaching in our schools. Before long they find that our schools are the right kind for their children; they know that we pay first attention to the training of character; that moral education is outstanding in our work; and soon the most prejudiced goes to our side praising our schools as the very best, little caring about our singing of hymns, prayers and religious meetings. Our schools are full of pupils, every place being taken by anxious students who afterward become our most effective advertisers. They don't take time to explain why we get results in the character of our pupils; they simply recognize the fact and praise and support our schools. At the end we hope that our schools will help to create the right attitude to our churches.

IN a second interview with Dr. Osuna August 4, he answered questions from the group, as follows:

QUESTION: It has been stated that the Roman Catholic church has always had a great influence over the poorer classes, the Indians. Now that they shall not have the church to look up to, is there anything that will take the place of the church as a guide to hold these poor people?

ANSWER: The Indian has not been helped morally by the church. I know towns where the church had not taught them anything. They did not know how to read even their prayers. The church certainly has not given them

any moral teaching. Yes, perhaps they are very devout. There are pickpockets here in the jails; some of them have been caught ten, fifteen or even twenty times. They, too, are very devout, but that does not seem to stop them from stealing.

The Mexican government has been trying to teach them morals. It has provided lectures in the schools and everywhere they have been trying to establish moral standards. In regard to the building up of the Indians, the government is establishing schools for them and in these schools morals are taught. How much has the teaching of the church helped the people? From a practical point of view the teachings of the church have not helped the people. Another thing about the Indian towns. Most of them are independent of the church. The priests go there once a year only. When they come that one time they baptize babies, confirm children and marry and get all the money out of them they can. I have been in the state of Oaxaca, where the population is mostly Indian, and where the priests only come once a year. The only thing I can see that they have taught them real well is to be hypocrites.

QUESTION: What do you think about the report given us that Calles said that he had met Jesus Christ three times and had slapped him in the face each time?

ANSWER: That is a lie.

QUESTION: A lady said it had been reported to her by the person who had heard Calles say it.

ANSWER: Well, I do not believe it. I think it is only another one of the lies that are told.

QUESTION: It is stated that neither the President nor any of the members of his cabinet are Catholics.

ANSWER: If they state that not a single member of the cabinet is a Catholic, that also is not true. Mr. Pani, the Minister of Finance, is a Roman Catholic; and some of the others are also Catholics that I know personally. President Calles may not personally be connected with any church, but all of his family are Roman Catholics. My brother's family are close friends of Mr. and Mrs. Calles and they were invited last Sunday to go to their place for luncheon with them. My sister-in-law was sick and she and my brother could not go, but their daughters, my nieces, went there. One of the President's daughters is in a convent near Los Angeles. They were discussing there last Sunday in the President's home all these questions of the day. I know the families of many of the other cabinet members and they too are Catholics. The wife of Mr. Saenz is a Catholic, although he is a Protestant. Many of the other members may not be Catholics themselves, but their families are Catholics at least.

QUESTION: Do you think the church has meant nothing to the millions of Indians?

ANSWER: O, yes, it has been a tremendous curse to them. When the Spaniards came here there were about 18,000,000 people. The church came here and was entrusted to protect the lives of the Indians; then the population was reduced to 6,000,000. They will not admit responsibility for the killing of all those millions. But they certainly helped. The Indians died by the millions just from exhaustion, and the church was a member to the business. As for education, they had all the money they wanted and all the property. After three hundred years, we found they did not educate quite one per cent; not quite one per cent could read and write. The Catholic Church had practically abandoned the small Indian villages, so you can see how much they were doing for the poor Indians. What do you think about this? In a great many places, owners of haciendas paid the priest to come to the church which they had and to talk to these peons

and get their confessions. When these poor people would go to confession, they would tell the priest whatever they had done, and then the priest informed the master. This happened all over the country. In other words, the church and the priest was used to exploit the people.

QUESTION: How has the Catholic church mixed in politics?

ANSWER: In many instances, it has been very difficult to distinguish the political work of the church from the religious work of the church. Granting that they did not go into Mexican politics, there was always the work of the church in politics. Since the government enacted the religious laws, they have not been minding the government. They never have a religious meeting without discussing politics. I was in the second city of the Republic, San Luis Potosi, a little less than three years ago. After I had been there a few days, I was told by a friend that the leading Catholic priest in that city was going to come to see me. He came to see me. I found I had known him before. We talked about different things, and then very enthusiastically and very plainly he asked me if I could not do something to help the church. He wondered whether I was in a position to do something. He wanted me to call on the archbishop. "Now, let me tell you," he said, "I have been depending upon you a long time, ever since we had that Eucharistic Congress, how to get a public man into office to support the Roman Catholic Church. We have discussed the matter. Many thought we would have to elect a man who was a member of the church and others stated that we would just have to elect someone independent of the church and others thought other ways and then I arose and said we must not try to put a Catholic candidate in. With a candidate who is not a Catholic the President will give us more attention and we will have more power."

QUESTION: When were the political rights withdrawn from the priests and why?

ANSWER: They were withdrawn from them in the laws of reform in 1859 and in an amendment to the Constitution in 1874. Only the political rights were withdrawn; they could hold property then. The priests could not be elected for public office. And all other ministers of churches are in the same position.

QUESTION: Why was that?

ANSWER: If they had the power to hold office and to legislate, they might do almost anything. They could draw groups without thought of the merits of the candidates. Therefore the priests were not given the vote. If the priests had the vote, there would be no freedom. If these priests had the vote and could govern all these people under them, there would be no democracy in a short time at all. You see they might use their influence, and that was the idea of it.

QUESTION: Are Protestant ministers in the same condition?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: If the Protestant ministers are registered and conform to the laws, why don't the Catholic priests do it? The Archbishop stated that because the laws had never recognized these priests as citizens, they could not now register?

ANSWER: That is a very crude excuse; nobody believes that. No foreigner here can be elected to fill any office; and if elected he could not fill the office. But does that mean foreigners cannot obey the laws and be submissive to the laws?

QUESTION: How is the Constitution amended?

ANSWER: The Constitution is amended by Congress, with either the President or any one of the congressmen introducing the bill into Congress. Then it goes to the senate, it is referred to the legal committee for study, it is

again referred to the senate where it has to be passed by a certain majority, and then it has to be ratified as well by a certain majority of the lower house.

QUESTION: Have there been any amendments?

ANSWER: Yes, one since the new Constitution was enacted.

QUESTION: We were told that the government has been doing everything it could to injure the church.

ANSWER: I am sorry Catholics have been taught to lie on religious subjects.

QUESTION: It is further stated that the leaders defending the church, without having committed any offenses whatsoever, except that they were attempting to defend the church, have been imprisoned, attacked, and treated in a shameless manner.

ANSWER: That is not true; they are only lying. The main leaders working for the church were all from the Society for the Defense of Religious Freedom. They were organized to work for the defense of the church, but that was not all that they did. They had been working for the overthrow of the national government. What they had been doing was getting out circulars to the people, telling them not to obey the law and to paralyze economic life.

QUESTION: Is it true that a priest as a private individual may not hold property?

ANSWER: That is true; nor may he inherit property from anybody, he cannot be assigned as an heir. He cannot have property of any kind.

QUESTION: We understood this morning that the church had not been in politics for many years. Is that true? And that they had no property?

ANSWER: Theoretically so. As an organization the church has not been. But they have an organization that is under the direct control of Archbishop Mora y del Rio in which he has continually attempted to dictate and to meddle in the politics of the country. I can give you the reasons I know it. During the last of Carranza's administration they organized. They worked very hard for Bonillas, to be president of Mexico. I was elected on the executive committee at that time. I had private advice that Archbishop Mora y del Rio was very anxious to talk with me and other members of the committee about certain matters in regard to the Catholic church. We were asked to come to the headquarters of this organization. I was one of a sub-committee appointed to call on the President at that time concerning the political request of the Archbishop.

QUESTION: Tell us briefly what different parties there are in the Chamber of Deputies?

ANSWER: There is the labor party, which is very strong, and then there is what is called the Liberals. There are the agrarians, and they make a big group but they are not one of the political parties. We organize committees that work in different parts of the country for one candidate or the other. They will probably have hundreds of these committees all over the country.

QUESTION: How do the conservative elements work; where the radical; are they in harmony sometimes?

ANSWER: They work in these various committees all over the country for the different candidates, according to the candidate they represent.

QUESTION: What was that party the Catholic church organized to combat the agrarian movement?

ANSWER: I don't remember; they are very active in certain states.

QUESTION: Wasn't there an organization by the owners of the land against this agrarian movement?

ANSWER: Yes, there was an organization of the hacendados to combat the agrarian movement, about five years ago. Mr. de la Huerta's revolutionary

movement was backed by the church, that is, by the clerical element; and in a great many of the previous disorders like when Villa was active. He got up some of these movements and was backed by the church. The church was only trying to overthrow the government. They used their influence against these reforms and advances in radicalism.

QUESTION: I understand by the American vice consul here that the President can be practically a dictator; that he can act as if there were neither a congress nor a constitution in existence.

ANSWER: There is a misunderstanding by the commercial attache. I studied political economy and economics at Vanderbilt University. Before establishing the new government here there was a great deal of talk in regard to reform of the tax system. They wanted to change the whole system of taxation. There could not be found a man at the time in the whole congress who could draft this matter and discuss the situation intelligently. They didn't have the experts who could plan and take charge of it, so the only solution was to authorize the President to study the system, to get experts who could plan and recommend a system and make the necessary changes in what they already had. Congress just authorized the president to put this matter through by these experts. Even today in this work they have two or three experts here. They are Americans. At least, I know two or three who are Americans. They are preparing these budgets for the government and then working out the whole system. The government finds it easier to do the work in this way than in any other, as they have no experts who can do it. When the whole matter is studied out the president approves the report and then reports the whole thing to the congress. Congress has the power to approve all this, but since they do not have the experts to look after this work, it is turned over to the president. The president has that power on account of the present conditions of the country. For instance, the income on oil. We have coming in some thirty millions from that alone and so we need experts to study that matter and decide about the taxation. In regard to other laws, congress had many plans, drafts, and laws ready for discussion. I don't know whether you know anything about the Latin mind. We have, say, 260 congressmen and probably 400 articles to be passed. Well, they read number one and all of these men have to make speeches. They try for three months to make speeches on these different laws and then finally they just authorize the president to pass these laws. The president then has to report to the chamber; he has to report any addition or change he has made to the penal code.

QUESTION: Does the budget have to be approved by congress before going into effect? Has there been any case when a congress has exercised a veto on the will of the president?

ANSWER: The budget has to be approved. There have never been any repudiations. They have always approved the powers of the president. This is my own personal opinion. I know the conditions here. I am not in politics, but I think it is a thousand times better that the president do this work.

QUESTION: In regard to employment in Mexico, how about the discharging of an employee without giving notice? Does an employer have to give notice, does he have to pay the employee three months' wages? Why doesn't the government have to pay three months' wages when discharging an employee?

ANSWER: I am a member of the Association of Printers of Mexico City, a member of the executive committee and chairman of the labor committee. I have to state that almost every night we have to meet in order to take up the disagreements presented to us. After hearing all the facts in the case, the committee then decides the questions, and whenever a working man has

been dismissed for a just cause, we do not pay him his three months' wages. But some of these, of course, really have just cause. We do not pay the three months' wages when a man is dismissed for bad conduct; whenever the man can prove that there is not just cause then we do have to pay the three months.

In a third interview with Dr. Osuna August 6, he spoke as follows:

After the struggle between the church and the state started here by the Constitution of 1857 and the Reform Laws of 1859, the government passed laws restricting the activities of the church and declaring some principles: the submission of the church to the authority of the state; liberty of education; liberty of the press; liberty to worship. The church did not accept these principles because it has been uniformly opposed to all these principles. They undertook the obligation to fight these principles. The government started schools, but they were opposed by the church. In these schools, they tried to teach these principles. The church has been trying to control all this work throughout the country. When I was at the head of the schools here in Mexico City, there was brought to my attention some text books published and taught by the church in which the church was systematically teaching the young against these principles, an action decidedly hostile.

That was from 1915 to 1918. We at once required them to change the text books. But the government had seen that the only way to control the situation was to stop religious instruction in the primary schools, because in this instruction these principles were neglected. Why this antagonism to religious instruction? Well, because, the Catholic Church simply wouldn't mind the government. I have kept my boys in the public schools. I have never found these public schools were detrimental to them. The outcome of the work shows that they were very much benefitted. Later my oldest boy was in the School of Engineering. There were only thirty boys in his course, and only three boys of the thirty passed. My boy was one of the three who passed. My boy finished and gained the most responsible position they had vacant. He never made very high grades. In fact, he made rather low grades. To me, it is only a question of character. Well, the question is, have the Catholics as good as we have? The law now is that no religion shall be taught in the primary schools. I think this was needed. I have evidence of this. There are a great many Catholic teachers in the public schools, probably 90 per cent. They have always shown a disposition to spoil anything for the government. Many teachers do not care to nor will they teach effectively what they should do, because they think they will be doing something against the church. According to the law, no one in the first six years in our public schools may be taught religion. That is a mistake, for I think the most critical period of life is around 12 to 16 or 17 years of age.

As for the number of Catholic schools you have asked me about, the government has established three thousand schools, I believe, within the last two or three years; of course many of them are only one teacher schools, but they are schools. Now, about these Catholic schools, they claimed they had a great many all over the country, but when the government tried to find some of them they told about, they could not find them. I have travelled a great deal all over the country. The teachers in the public schools at first were not as good as your teachers in the states, but they are better every year because the government is training more teachers and sending them out to teach these schools; and the old teachers are also getting more training. But it is very hard to get trained teachers. The schools are running though.

I travelled in several sections of the country just to see these public

schools two years ago. I found in some of those places very good schools indeed. Many persons are ready to make statements, but they haven't seen anything. I can be positive of everything, about everything that I saw and have reported in regard to the schools. It is true that there are many drawbacks. I do not agree with everything they are doing, that is, with their methods.

QUESTION: Are there not teachers sent out to these different places to help the country teachers with their problems and to improve conditions?

ANSWER: The traveling teachers, yes. They started that some three or four years ago, sending teachers specially prepared to help country teachers, sending them from place to place. They now send out a group of teachers which goes from place to place to the small schools to help the teachers to get in touch with the parents and to teach the local teachers how to do the many things they should do in their schools. There are generally about five in a group. One is an expert on social work; another is a specialist on agriculture; another is sent to teach the women and the girls how to take care of their homes and their children. They come to a town or a small place. They call all the teachers together they can reach from that town; they give their talks and illustrate their work and teach and show them everything they can. How long do they stay in a place? That depends upon how many teachers they can get together in that place, according to the size of the place too, but they usually stay at least six weeks in a place.

I know all this because I had a girl in the office of the publishing company. She belonged to one of the Protestant churches of the city. I found out one day she had been engaged to go with one of these groups. I then began to inquire what kind of work they did in these groups so as to learn what benefit it was. Each one has some special thing to teach. This girl was going for the social work. That is the system of these traveling teachers.

QUESTION: Do you have anything like parent-teachers associations in Mexico?

ANSWER: They have been organizing them in all these local centers.

QUESTION: I gather from the American Ambassador that foreigners owning land along the border will have to dispose of it the best they can, regardless of what anyone may choose to offer for it.

ANSWER: The law is that within an area of sixty-two miles of the border and thirty-miles along the sea coast no foreigner can own land. Anyone owning land within those areas will be allowed to keep it until their death; then the heirs must dispose of it at the death of the person who has had this land. Corporations are allowed to hold their lands in these areas for their life-time in Mexico.

QUESTION: Suppose there is no market for that land, as is said to be true in many cases. For instance, there is Mr. Hearst's lands.

ANSWER: Well, they take their own chances. Now, Mr. Hearst never intended to cultivate his land here. He made his investment and he should have seen to that. Of course, if he could not sell, there would not be any difficulties necessarily; it would be impossible to take his holdings if he had complied with the law; but if he could not sell his land, then there would be a claims commission appointed to take care of this matter. There was another case where the government knew there would be considerable trouble and the government bought the lands from him. I think they will easily handle Mr. Hearst. They will probably handle him in the same way. If he makes an estimate of what he paid for it, the government will have to pay very little. The government may base the price for the land on the value of the land as they estimate it for taxation.

As I was saying, the government pays for these lands at the value which the owner places on it for taxation, plus 10 per cent.

QUESTION: How long may the owner hold this land?

ANSWER: As a private individual, he may hold it until he goes to heaven.

QUESTION: We understand that if the owner cannot find a buyer, the government may place a value on the land and acquire it.

ANSWER: No, no one may, only as I said before.

QUESTION: Where can the exchange of correspondence between the United States and Mexico be found, in regard to this matter?

ANSWER: Mr. Guy Stevens, in the Mexican Embassy in Washington, keeps full memoranda in English.

QUESTION: How about damage claims made against Mexico?

ANSWER: Mr. Oliver, a man who had a contract with the railroads here, presented a claim in the American courts for three million dollars. He did not wait for it to be adjusted by the claims commission nor to receive justice here, but pushed it in the American courts. I understand that he offered to accept three hundred thousand and without any of the expenses he had paid. That is, he offered to accept one-tenth of what he was claiming. That will give you an idea of these claims. I have also known of cases where they were asking for two million dollars, and when they came to settle they agreed on two or three thousand dollars. Very interesting cases some of these.

QUESTION: How about Mrs. Evans' property?

ANSWER: I don't know much about that case. I know that she didn't want to leave there; they had told her it was not safe. I think she took too many risks when it was unsafe there for her and she had been warned not to stay there.

QUESTION: Is there any truth to a statement in a newspaper that to avoid conscription, Mexicans become rebel leaders for awhile?

ANSWER: Military service is voluntary and subject to contract. The Federal Government makes contracts and it is entirely voluntary.

QUESTION: Would it compare with what we have in the United States?

ANSWER: I guess so. In fact they pay and do now very similarly to what they do in the United States.

QUESTION: What was your experience as Governor of Tamaulipas with the oil companies?

ANSWER: In General Diaz's administration, he was in favor of the capitalists and they did not pay any tax to speak of. Now, when they have to pay taxes, they are complaining about it. When I went to Tamaulipas as governor, we needed money and I instructed the collector to get to work. There were in that state at that time some big oil companies. There were about four of them, and they had not been paying taxes. I demanded taxes and they refused. In one case we had to take the property of one of those big companies.

QUESTION: But it is said your taxes are excessive, altogether excessive.

ANSWER: That was the very argument these oil companies made. They said, "Your taxes are excessive and we cannot afford to pay them." I said to all the managers of the oil companies, "You select an expert and I will select another one in behalf of the state and the state will pay all the expenses of the two men to go to the United States to investigate similar taxes in the United States. After they have come back from their investigation, I will establish the lowest rate of taxation they find in the United States." But the oil companies didn't want to do that, and then they agreed to pay the rate of taxation which we agreed upon.

Views of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy

THE group had the privilege of submitting a list of written questions to the Council of Roman Catholic bishops, through Bishop Pasqual Diaz, secretary of the Mexican episcopate and spokesman for Archbishop Mora y del Rio during his illness. The questions were submitted in person by a small sub-committee of the group on August 6. Following an interview with Bishop Diaz, of Tabasco, written answers to the questions were given.

QUESTION: In what respect do the "anti-religious clauses" of the Constitution make the existence of the Church impossible?

ANSWER: In that the Constitution assails the divine origin of the church, its object, its ministers and properties, as well as the means which the church uses in every civilized country for its maintenance and growth.

The judicial function of the churches is explicitly denied; and the federal authorities are authorized to intervene, as designated by the laws (Art. 130), in the worship and in church discipline.

The priests are not considered as such, but as ordinary professionals (Art. 130) and are not given the consideration accorded to the members of other professions.

They are required to be Mexicans by birth (Art. 130).

The State legislatures are authorized to determine their maximum number (Art. 130).

They are prohibited: To exercise their political rights (Arts. 82, 55, 59, 130); To exercise their ordinary civil rights (Arts. 3, 27, 130).

Ownership of property by the church and its ministers is prohibited in regard to churches (Arts. 27, 130), residences of bishops and curates, seminaries, asylums, colleges, religious houses, institutions of private charity (Art. 27).

Ministers are prevented from inheriting property even from individuals if the latter are not close relatives (Art. 130).

The church is incapacitated in general from exercising any ownership whatever over real estate or any capital invested in buildings thereon (Art. 27).

All property which the church now actually owns or is possessed of in the name of an intermediary is ordered to pass to the national domain; and legal action of denouncement is authorized in regard to the properties thus made available, proof of presumption being sufficient for founding the denouncement (Art. 27).

From the above it is seen that the church is denied the rights which civilization and nature itself grants to all human society above the rank of savages.

QUESTION: From the letter of the Archbishop we understand that certain acts ordered by God are made criminal by the law (of July 2). What are these acts?

ANSWER: The fulfillment of religious votive offerings, obligatory by the law of God, to whom they are dutifully made.

Public ownership, approved by God, and at times ordered by HIM.

Religious education, or the duty of parents to teach their children, as soon as they reach the age of reason, of the existence of God, the truths of the Catholic faith and the Christian dogma and morality.

Also God had ordained that the vocations of religious professions inspired by God shall be fostered with prudence and gentleness.

The obligation to recognize the right of ownership in anyone who owns property, as that of the church to the property which the people have given to the church and not to the Nation.

Thus, in various ways but very clearly, all these acts are considered as crimes and made punishable as such.

QUESTION: What is the status of the present political leaders? Have they been excommunicated?

ANSWER: The Mexican Archbishop has not issued any special excommunication whatever in addition to those already indicated for all the world by the general canonical law. The only thing that has been done is the publication anew of some of them in the final part of the collective pastoral letter of July 25, 1926. In virtue of these, as may easily be understood, various persons referred to in the questionnaire certainly have incurred excommunication.

QUESTION: Are the children of Catholics forbidden by the church to attend the public schools?

ANSWER: The Bishops have recorded Canon No. 2319, paragraph 4, which reads: Parents, or those acting in their stead, who knowingly cause their children to be instructed or educated in a religion other than the Catholic incur excommunication subject to the decision of the Bishop.

If in this manner a public or private school is known to be the cause of the moral or religious perversion of a child, the ecclesiastical as well as the natural law prohibits attendance at such a school, the same in Mexico as in any part of the world.

QUESTION: How many church schools were closed, and how many children were thereby deprived of educational facilities?

ANSWER: By the dispersion of the proper personnel, approximately fifty schools have been closed, with an average attendance of 150 pupils in each one. But there is a well formed threat to close all the Catholic schools in the republic, affecting about 2,000,000 children.

The mere temporary suspension was caused by the discussion of the law which is now being examined, and although the schools now continue open, nevertheless they will have to be closed if the government takes action which the church cannot submit to.

QUESTION: What is the extent of property confiscated?

ANSWER: Virtually all the church property is confiscated, and the amount can be learned from what is called the Office of National Properties (Bienes Nacionales). The law of July 2 in article 22 provides:

"The churches intended for public worship are the property of the nation, represented by the federal government, which will determine those to be continued for this purpose."

"The homes of the Bishops and curates, seminaries, asylums or colleges of religious associations, convents or any other building which may have been built or intended for the administration, propaganda or instruction of a religious cult will immediately pass in full right to the direct ownership of the nation, to be assigned exclusively to public uses of the Federation or the States in their respective jurisdictions."

"Persons who destroy, injure or cause damage to the said buildings will be punished with one or two years imprisonment and will be subject to the civic penalties which they incur."

QUESTION: What redress has the Catholic church? What is the con-

stitutional method by which Catholic citizens can bring about a change in the regulations?

ANSWER: The remedy with respect to the regulation will be to make the President see that he has exceeded his authority, as is the unanimous opinion of many authorities on jurisprudence, non-Catholic as well as Catholic. Fundamentally, by amending the Constitution in the manner which the Constitution itself provides. With respect to other means adopted by secular persons and societies, the church must confine itself, if asked, to stating whether or not these are just.

QUESTION: How many priests and nuns were deported?

ANSWER: Due to the difficulty and insecurity of correspondence which has become notorious during this persecution, it is difficult to give a complete statement. However, it is calculated that more than 300 foreign priests have been deported. With respect to the nuns, only thirty have been expelled, who belonged to the American convent of the "Visitation", but more than 500 from various religious institutions have been put to the necessity of leaving the country and their work of teaching or of charity which they directed.

QUESTION: How many priests, nuns and laymen have been imprisoned?

ANSWER: Two Bishops, those of Huejutla and Tacambaro; two or three priests; no nuns; and many laymen, although these have now been released on bail.

QUESTION: Why did the Catholic church feel that its priests should not obey the law for registration?

ANSWER: Because by Article 130, in registering as "responsible under civil authority for the fulfillment of the laws regarding religious discipline and religious objects pertaining to worship", it would result in subordinating their ministration and the property of the church to the secular authorities, which is clearly contrary to the divine constitution of the church, its recognized rights and its dignity.

QUESTION: How is it possible for the church to function under the present regulations?

ANSWER: The church cannot function, as no organization can function, when it is deprived of its temporal means, of the most essential members of its organization, and even of the common rights of every citizen—of liberty of the press, of "manifestaciones" (writs resembling habeas corpus) and even of making complaints.

The sub-committee which interviewed Bishop Diaz also interviewed a group of five Catholic ladies, two of them Americans. The interview was on August 3 in the home of one of the ladies, who will be designated as Mrs. B. The following report of the interview was prepared by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick:

Mrs. B. was asked regarding the exact reason why the ecclesiastical authorities would not permit the clergy to register with the government in accord with its requirements. In reply she made the statement that the Constitution of 1857 denied civil status to the clergy and that, therefore, it would be unconstitutional for them to register themselves as priests.

It was evident from the earnestness of the ladies that they were very devout and sincere Catholics and had accepted very completely the explanations given them by the priests in regard to the present situation. They dwelt at length on the severity of the persecutions, as they regarded the requirements of the government, and cited details of harshness on the part of the administration and soldiers in closing convents and enforcing the law. They evidently were convinced that the primary purpose of the government was to destroy the church.

An instance was cited of a case in which the deputy entered a village

church at the time of mass and proceeded to break up the service and close the church. This brutal act aroused the congregation and precipitated a riot in which the deputy was killed. The government promptly tried to find the murderers. Failing in this respect, all the principal men of the village were hanged to a single tree. The photograph of these men hanging to a tree was shown us. Mrs. B. also gave us a number of documents, giving details of her own experiences and those of others in connection with the events of the past months.

She told us of a conversation in which President Calles stated that he had met Jesus Christ three times and had slapped him in the face. Being questioned regarding this extraordinary statement, she stated that the conversation had been reported to her by a person who had heard it herself.

The above statements were made to us with the explicit understanding that we were not to use any names in reporting the interview.

The Independent Catholic Church

THE most Reverend Jose Joaquin Perez, patriarch of the Independent Mexican Catholic Church, popularly designated as the "Schismatics", received the group for an interview in the church in which he officiates, just across the avenue from the monument to Benito Juarez.

Father Perez spoke as follows:

About thirty years ago there came a papal representative to Mexico, while I was in a little town called San Juan. Having seen the extreme poverty of the people and realizing how great was the burden of the expense of the church upon them, I asked of the papal representative that the custom of collecting for the services of the church be discontinued. The representative was greatly displeased and, with the help of the Governor of Puebla, who brought about two hundred men, came about the middle of the night, tied me up by the neck and by the arms and took away from me all that I had in the church and arrested all in the church who cooperated with me. They took me on foot to Jalisco where I was imprisoned two years. In prison I contracted a disease from which developed a tumor in my face. They operated on me and left my mouth disfigured, as you can see.

The Bishop of Puebla called me and offered me another curate under the condition that I retract all I had said, all that I had asked of the papal delegate. I replied that in no sense would I retract what I had said because all my requests were Christian. Then they asked me to make an explanation to the press. When I asked in what form the explanation should be made, they said simply to state that, seeing the desires of my superiors, I wished to make this explanation. I refused to do it and was straightway thrown into a dungeon. I will give you a copy of our paper which covers the story. The whole fight was to take out of the church the Simoniac custom, which I wished to discard.

Please give me your questions in writing and I shall be glad to answer them.

I have had as my ideal the assistance of the church and I do not believe they have the right to collect for the services rendered to poor people. I wish to return to the primitive church custom.

Questions asked were answered by one of the Patriarch's assistants as follows:

QUESTION: Have all your assistants come from the Roman church?

ANSWER: Yes, they have come from the Roman Catholic church. We have eight parishes in Puebla, seven in Chiapas, in all forty-eight parishes. The church is orthodox because it practices pure Christianity and it is universal. It is made up entirely of Mexicans. All services are held in Spanish. We do not use Latin for anything.

QUESTION: Is there any movement toward this church because of the recent political disturbances?

ANSWER: Yes. We have had calls for additional priests, and have received assurance of support from Puebla. Three committees have been sent here to assassinate him and Calles, with instructions to assassinate him in a Christian manner.

QUESTION: What kind of Bible do you use in your church?

ANSWER: We use the Valera edition, both Old and New Testaments. We use no notes in our Bibles, but allow the reader to interpret for himself.

QUESTION: What provisions are being made for seminary training of boys?

ANSWER: We are going to organize a seminary, but cannot do so yet, as our movement is very new. Our students study Spanish, English, logic, theology, and philosophy, but no Latin.

QUESTION: Do all your members have Bibles?

ANSWER: Yes. (He inquired as to the prices of Bibles in the United States, with the idea of getting them to distribute among his people.)

QUESTION: Do you already have your training school?

ANSWER: We will organize it as soon as possible.

QUESTION: Do you allow your priests to marry?

ANSWER: Yes, we have marriage among our priests.

Miss Caroline Smith: There is a famous woman orator who goes about the country speaking against the Catholics. She talked yesterday on the street. When some person expressed the wish that the bells of this church, nearby, would cease ringing, she said, "No, let them ring. That is the truly **Mexican Catholic Church.**"

Asked concerning the fundamental basis of the Orthodox Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church, the assistant said:

Our church does not constitute a sect, but includes the true religion founded on Christ, our Divine Master and Redeemer.

The corner-stone of this church is the sacred scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments, which may be interpreted liberally by members.

The purity of the Holy Virgin Mary is an article of faith for us and nobody may belong to the real religion without this belief. The saints are also to be venerated.

The governing power of this church resides in its Patriarch, independent of the Church of Rome, and does not have any relation to the Pope or the authority of the Vatican. The Mexican Patriarch alone shall govern and shall have the authority to ordain his ministers and to confer upon them the right to administer the Sacred Sacraments.

The Sacred Sacraments are to be administered without charge, that an end may be put to the Simoniacal custom which exists in the Church of Rome. Alms may be given freely.

The priests of this church shall be useful citizens of society, obeying the laws and institutions of the country, and no person should gain a livelihood except by his own efforts.

We abandon the idea of ecclesiastical celibacy as being immoral and unnatural. The priests should have their own households.

All services of the church and all liturgical books should be in the Spanish language.

The clergy of this church do not pretend to practice temporal and spiritual dominance over the members.

Our God is a perfect being without wrath or vengeance, and therefore cannot condemn for eternity those created in his own image. The punishment is measured by the sin committed.

QUESTION: How did you secure this church building?

ANSWER: We secured permission from the government to use this building. It was filled with agricultural implements before the government let us have it.

QUESTION: What do you think of the program of the present government?

ANSWER: It is very good, because it will aid in teaching the church to comply with the law and to abandon fanaticism. At one time the law was broken by the bishops and the archbishop because of instructions of the Pope.

QUESTION: What do the Protestant churches think of your movement?

ANSWER: They have congratulated us.

QUESTION: Have your priests been excommunicated?

ANSWER: It is supposed they are, although they have never been so advised. They have cut themselves off from the Pope. They have no relation to him. Excommunication by the Pope will not affect these people.

QUESTION: Who has the authority to ordain your priests?

ANSWER: Within a month there will be seventeen young men from the Eastern Orthodox Greek Church and they will receive authority to ordain priests. It is simply to establish apostolic succession.

QUESTION: Has the Catholic church interfered with your work?

ANSWER: Yes. The women especially have done all they could to discredit this church. I sent two girls to a church to find out what they were saying and they said that instructions were being given to get rid of us in any way possible.

One of the assistants of the Patriarch, formerly a pastor in the Episcopal Church for fifty-one years, spoke:

I take the greatest pleasure in seeing a genuine representation of the United States. I had the pleasure of travelling thirty-one years ago in the United States and realize the importance of your country to ours. I want you to know with what great affection I regard the people of the United States.

I am in sympathy with and am associated with the work of the Patriarch. Up to the present time we have not been able to put into effect all the reform which I would like to see brought about. One point unites us with this man: that is, liberty of the church in this country. The hope of the movement of the Patriarch is not to fight against anyone, but only to restore the work of the church. He wishes to perpetuate the spirit of the church during its first years, which spirit has been lost. He wishes to keep the purity of the doctrines of that epoch. We know that the church during its first five centuries did not have a pope. The first pope was in 590 A. D. Since then there have come into the Catholic church many doctrines contrary to its original teachings. One of the scandalous practices has been the exploitation of the people. Christ gave instructions to His apostles to go out and give grace for grace.

About thirty years ago, the Patriarch was pastor of a humble church whose members were very poor. They were not able to pay for their marriages, their confirmations, or their burials. In pity for them, he sent a petition to the

papal delegate, picturing the miserable situation of those people and asking that the tariff charged for the ceremonies be reduced or entirely abolished, if possible. The petition caused great alarm among the clergy because the Roman Catholic Church has as its fundamental basis the practice of Simony. They put into operation all measures possible to persecute this man. They sent two hundred men to arrest him. This was thirty years ago. They tied a rope about his neck and lead him to Jalisco, and placed him with five hundred criminals, where they kept him for years. The same abuses were committed against others at times.

Now they are very bitter because President Calles demands compliance with the law. The first requirement is that all pastors shall be Mexican by birth. It may be that some do not agree with this, but the law is the law and should be obeyed. We all must conform to the law. The Methodists, the Episcopalians, and the Baptists—all have complied with the law. The priests say that they will not obey the law. They will not recognize the Constitution. They claim that they are responsible only to the Pope. Could they live in Mexico if there were no Constitution or the laws were not obeyed? It is not a religious question. It is a question of obedience to the law. Will they be Catholic or Mexican?

Business Conditions

GEORGE WYTHE, commercial attache of the United States Embassy, came to the group in its conference room in the Princess Hotel and discussed business conditions in Mexico by the question and answer method entirely. He emphasized that he would express his personal opinions and would not speak officially as a representative of the Embassy.

The group had an interview with James Sheffield, the American Ambassador, on Wednesday, August 4, but notes of the interview were forbidden.

The Wythe interview follows:

QUESTION: What do you think of the statement that the labor unions have been forced by the government to take part in the recent demonstration endorsing the government?

ANSWER: Mr. Morones, the Mexican Minister of Commerce and Labor, has a vital interest in the welfare of the Labor Union.

QUESTION: Do you regard the present organization of the C. R. O. M. in any way prejudicial to the national government?

ANSWER: It has the same form as in other parts of the world. It is relatively young and untrained. I see nothing abnormal in it. It has had more governmental support than labor unions usually get.

QUESTION: Is this government support made mandatory on them?

ANSWER: Governmental support is in most cases behind the labor organizations. If the organization should go too far, however, the government would check them.

QUESTION: Is American capital increasing or decreasing in the last few years in Mexico?

ANSWER: Small industries have increased in Mexico. Small plants of American management have sprung up lately. High tariff has caused them to be brought in. Some are French and some German. Mining is more active. There has not been a real increase of capital investment in mining, but actual output has been increasing. Land holdings have not increased except for small pieces of property for industrial purposes. Capital investment in oil fields

have increased because every time a well is put down, the capital investment increases. But there are comparatively few new investments on a large scale.

QUESTION: What will the new law taxing mines do for mines and wages?

ANSWER: The general effect will be to help large companies. Small companies will be put out of business. It costs money to conform to all the details of the law and to work mines. It is possible that it will be taken off the wage earnings. The production cost is very high. The big companies will be helped. They can operate really cheaper than can the small mines. The very high grade ore mines will not be affected.

QUESTION: How do taxes compare in Mexico, on mining and oil, with those in the United States?

ANSWER: In mining, under the old schedule, the Mexican taxes were heavier on gold and silver. But American taxes were heavier on the base metals, that is, taxation pure and simple. I do not know about the oil. There would probably be a variation with fields and circumstances.

QUESTION: Are there any oil refineries in this republic?

ANSWER: They have increased. There are local corporations that use more of domestic oil than before.

QUESTION: Why is gas so high here?

ANSWER: The companies say it is because of high taxes, the high cost of operation due to labor trouble, etc. They produce on a relatively small scale here. Freight rates generally are no higher than in the United States, but things are done in a smaller way, thereby increasing operative costs. The republic of Mexico has few automobiles in comparison with the United States, the entire republic having fewer than the one town of Dallas, Texas. Therefore, the unit cost is high.

QUESTION: Was it the intention of the man who promulgated these laws to drive industry into consolidation?

ANSWER: I do not know what was in the mind of the government. They may have had in mind to prevent a company from holding large numbers of mines for long periods of time, by requiring them to work the mines. The effect, however, will be to crush the small man.

QUESTION: Is the small man a factor in the mining industry?

ANSWER: Heretofore he has been a big factor in finding mines. Many prospectors have been in the country, some discovering mines and many failing. But the actual development of the mines will probably not be influenced by the loss of the small miners.

QUESTION: Do the American business men feel that there is any discrimination in Mexico in favor of any particular nation?

ANSWER: Many laws discriminate in favor of Mexico. The law provides that at least 80 per cent of the employees must be Mexican. The purpose is to train the personnel of Mexican engineers. Probably in the long run it is a very good thing to have a trained body of engineers. But aside from that, I do not think any nationality is favored.

QUESTION: Is there a general feeling in favor of Germans?

ANSWER: The Germans generally intermarry with the Mexicans more than do the Americans. But I know of no occasion in which the Mexican government has favored Germany over America. The tendency seems to be to favor the Americans. The Americans are on the job, they get the goods in here more quickly and get them of better quality. There are some lines in which Americans really have no competition, as in talking machines or typewriters. There are some lines in which competition is very, very keen with local manufacturers and those from other countries. The United States can-

not compete in electric wire. Americans buy German wire here, because they can get it cheaper. American automobiles have little competition. Even the British minister rides in an American car. This is because of better service and is true throughout the republic. The Ford Company has an assembling plant here.

QUESTION: Is there a tariff on automobiles?

ANSWER: Yes, on a specific basis of so much per kilogram.

QUESTION: Is France favored in the tariff laws?

ANSWER: No, Mexico has denounced her commercial treaties with all countries and the only country she has a commercial treaty with now is Japan. All countries get the same treatment.

QUESTION: To what extent has the boycott been effective?

ANSWER: We shall have to disentangle this from many other things in order to know exactly the effect of the boycott. However, it did have its effect. How much is due to the general situation and how much to the boycott is hard to tell. It has had some effect on luxuries.

QUESTION: Is business paralyzed now?

ANSWER: That is a wrong statement. It is hard to say. People have to live. The majority of goods are bought because people have to have them. In a city like Mexico, it will be felt in certain lines, as phonographs, moving pictures, etc. But people must have shoes. In times of revolution people spend money, thinking that tomorrow may find it worthless. Things just now are a little depressed, but business must go ahead. It cannot stop.

QUESTION: Is the balance of trade against Mexico?

ANSWER: No, it is much in favor of Mexico. Exports in minerals, coffee, and vegetable fibers, reach a large figure. Yet less than 3 per cent of the mineral exports are produced by Mexicans. Practically all vegetables are produced by Americans and Chinese on the coast. Practically all exports are in the hands of foreigners.

QUESTION: Does Mexico profit by it?

ANSWER: Not so much as if it were her own capital, but a certain part of it comes back to Mexico in permanent fixtures, roads, etc. The per cent which goes to profits goes to foreign countries, however.

QUESTION: What would be the effect upon the economic life if foreign capital were withdrawn?

ANSWER: The largest part could not be withdrawn if they wished. The most of it is in land. The land holdings is the largest single investment by foreigners. Who will buy it? They cannot withdraw it.

QUESTION: What per cent of shoes and leather goods do the Mexicans manufacture?

ANSWER: Only the common grades used in the country at the present time. The finest grades are imported from the United States.

QUESTION: What is the duty on foreign shoes?

ANSWER: It varies according to length of last. It is prohibitive in the common grade of shoe. The consumption of shoes is increasing. People are wearing more and more of American clothes. There are many factories and shops in Mexico.

QUESTION: Will rubber become an industry in Mexico?

ANSWER: Before the revolution, when the price of rubber was very high, they planted extensive plantations in the southern regions. Now it is impossible to get it out, except at prohibitive prices. A certain amount is produced by Indians in a crude fashion. Some is going out from the northern part of the country. The cost of maintaining rubber plantations is high because of the growth of jungle which prohibits getting the rubber out.

QUESTION: What are the prospects of production of rubber in Mexico?

ANSWER: They have the soil and the climate, but labor is bound to go up in Mexico. Transportation difficulties will add much to the cost of operation.

QUESTION: Can land now covered with cactus be used for rubber?

ANSWER: It is. But who wants to put money into it to develop it?

QUESTION: What proportion of coffee is financed by Mexicans?

ANSWER: Probably 10 per cent is in the hands of Mexicans. Some is in the hands of British and some in hands of Germans.

QUESTION: What is the reaction of the American business men toward the revolution?

ANSWER: The attitude of Americans to Mexican officials is divided as in the States towards the American president. They vary.

QUESTION: Is the Mexican method of doing business different from that of Americans, meaning that there will be some graft?

ANSWER: Most Americans do not bribe. Most other foreigners do bribe and do not have any respect for the government.

QUESTION: Are there many large ranches owned by Americans? Has the government taken any of them over?

ANSWER: Very few have been taken over completely. The agrarian question is very hard to understand. Generally speaking, before the time of the Spanish, the Indians lived in groups, with primitive ideas of holding property—the communal idea. Until the time of Jaurez they worked the land in a communal way. They owned the woods, waters, and pastures in common. Jaurez provided that no corporation could own land in Mexico. He aimed at the church, but hit the villages and they were forced to give up lands, to sell them and to get individual titles to them. Being ignorant, the most of them sold their land. Some were protected by good leaders, who saw that villages did not lose their titles. Diaz thought the Indian an obstacle to progress. He wanted to wipe out the old traditions and to wipe out the communal concept. Many Indians then lost their lands. The revolution provided for the restoration of all lands taken from the Indians and much land was returned to the Indians. Some of those Indians still have land given them then. It is impossible, therefore, to pass on the question. It is very nice that these Indians have their own lands. The chances are that they will stay under the old communal system for the next hundred years. There are few land owners who have not had some of their land taken.

QUESTION: Will Americans have difficulty in disposing of their land?

ANSWER: Who will buy it?

QUESTION: Does the law provide for their confiscation?

ANSWER: Since October of last year bonds were issued by the government and have some commercial value, as in the payment of taxes.

QUESTION: Who decides how much the government shall pay for land?

ANSWER: It is all settled by certain commissions.

QUESTION: Do American oil interests cooperate now with the Mexican government?

ANSWER: No one is ever content on the question of taxes. It has not been fully adjusted. The companies accepted the law. Some of them pay under protest. Most of the American companies pay, but with complaint.

QUESTION: How much of the capital invested in Mexican railways is American?

ANSWER: The amount is relatively small. Most of the American capital is in the Southern Pacific, which runs down the western coast. Only a small per cent is held in the United States. The Mexican railroad is held by

the Mexican government, which holds a controlling stock. The Inter-Oceanic Railroad is owned half by British and half by the Mexican government. The road from Vera Cruz to Mexico City is held by British. Many small railroads here are built by mining companies, of which many are held by Americans. The street railways are owned by Canadian capital. The Mexican railroad has a board of directors, dominated by the Mexican government.

QUESTION: Does the Mexican government have an export duty on all products that go from the country? Will it hamper foreign trade?

ANSWER: The president can change any duty he wishes, over night. Since Carranza came into power congress has not appropriated a budget. Everything is paid out of government funds at the order of the president. He changes the import and export duties, the salaries, as he wishes. States sometimes levy export taxes in spite of the Constitution. It is dangerous to business. They never know what to expect and therefore hesitate to invest.

QUESTION: Why doesn't congress vote a budget?

ANSWER: They cannot agree. It is better to leave it in the hands of the president. The real trouble of taxes is from the states. The changes of duty are so fast. The entire system may be changed in a few months, as in the case of automobiles in the last three months. The difficulty is the uncertainty.

QUESTION: Are the executive powers larger here than in most other Latin-American countries?

ANSWER: I have not had experience in Latin-American countries. In many, as here, I think, the president decides everything of any importance.

QUESTION: Does the executive officer in all Latin-American countries have larger power than in America?

ANSWER: He has. The mining law was promulgated by presidential decree and so were many others. The religious regulations were by decree. The congress here went through the formality of passing a law authorizing the president to issue the decree, without giving any details of the law.

QUESTION: Can the president annul the judgment of a court as he wishes?

ANSWER: The courts would be careful to know the president's wishes first.

QUESTION: What is your personal reaction as to the ability of the last president in comparison with this one?

ANSWER: President Calles is a better administrator, is a more modern business man type, is more efficient.

QUESTION: What way is there for a group who object to a law to have redress?

ANSWER: By persuading the president. The constitution is usually amended by revolution.

The Program of Education

THE program of education of the Calles government was described by Dr. Moises Saenz, assistant secretary of education, in an interview at noon, August 6. He spoke in English, as follows:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, to the Department of Education; and we feel very grateful to you for your attitude in your trip, your desire to find out the facts about Mexico. We certainly hope we can give you in this visit to the Department some information that may be valuable to you.

I will make a more or less introductory statement about education in Mexico; then you may ask questions. We have a federal system of schools, directed by this Department of Education. Then each state has its own school system. We have a dual system of education in Mexico. The Federal District also has its jurisdiction. The federal government can establish any number of schools anywhere in Mexico. We have the right to do that, but then each state has the responsibility for its own school system within the state and is of course the final authority for school matters in the state. The question of responsibility is entirely clear. We do not try to govern. We go out to help and supplement the action of the state. Even the counties have in some part school responsibility.

The type of schools we have established are the same as in every other country. They go from the kindergarten to the university, through the different grades. A primary school has two divisions—the first four years, elementary grades; and then two years, which are the superior primary grades. The six years form the primary school proper. Then we have secondary schools of different types. There are five years of the secondary school; the student then enters the university.

We do not have anything to correspond to your college. A boy will start at seven, study six years in the primary schools, then five years in the secondary schools, and then enter the university for five or six years; or he may elect to study law, medicine or some other course in some of our special, professional schools. We have no college.

All of the states have advanced or secondary schools. We have normal schools in each state. Some of the states have all of these schools, but not each of the states. That is, not all of them have schools of medicine, schools of law, etc. Here in Mexico there is to be found each one of these schools; there is a type of school which is somewhat of a college and then something more. It gives a liberal college course in a way.

We have what you call the private school system. There are private schools everywhere. It is not right really to speak of a private school system, as there is no center of organization. There are a large number of private schools all over Mexico. These schools can be divided into three groups. In this group of private schools, there are a large number of so-called Catholic schools; that is, schools established with some religious aim in view, supported more or less by some religious organization. We have a very small group of mission schools which have the same characteristics; and then we have the private schools run on a commercial basis, just as a business proposition. A large number of latter type are so-called Catholic schools, church schools.

I do not want you to get the impression that when I speak of Catholic private schools I am speaking of the parochial schools. In many of these Catholic schools, they are not like the convents or the parochial schools; persons with strong Catholic tendencies will have these schools; priests will come and have something to do, and yet these are not parochial schools. Even the parochial schools are not exactly in connection with the church.

These Catholic schools are principally in Mexico City. We have very few in the country at large, especially in the rural districts. In Mexico City and the environs of the city there are quite a number of private schools. In the smaller towns maybe one or two. I do not have any statistics on the number of private schools.

In the public school system, the constant effort has been that no religion should be taught in the primary schools. It is now prohibited. The law says these primary schools should not be conducted by a religious organization and that no priest or minister should teach in any one of these primary schools.

One of the regulations is that no primary school should teach religion; they should be secular; that applies not only to the Catholic but to all religions. For that reason, the Department has issued a special set of regulations for private schools. Under the law, there is a certain amount of regulation for the teachers, specifying a certain amount of preparation, and for the equipment of the schools. All of these regulations were discussed in this department by a committee composed of delegates from the private schools and from the department. These regulations were accepted by the Protestants and non-religious schools, and at present you will observe that these schools are open and have not been affected. But in many cases the Catholic schools did not and would not accept these regulations.

We knew that the great weakness in our educational system in Mexico was in the country schools. For many years here in the city we have had very fine schools of different types, also in some parts of the country just as fine. In different parts of Mexico you will find systems of different types. Some of these schools are just as fine as you will find in any part of the world, but there were not enough schools. It was not the effort of the church, as they claimed, to spread or extend their schools to all parts of the country. They were only in the large cities. In the administration of President Diaz many fine schools and very fine public buildings were built. But all of this development was here in the city or in the larger cities and towns of the Republic, so that all the foreigners who came to visit us could see and wonder at the development down here in Mexico. But the greatest need in Mexico was for schools in the country, in the rural districts; so when the Department was re-established in 1920, we started with a national program of education and we then began to establish and work for schools in all of the rural districts.

The most significant thing in the work of this Department is that for the first time—not boasting—we have thought in national terms. Previously the effort was always either directed to the city of Mexico or to some particular place. But one of the results of the revolutions has been that the people are thinking in national terms and of problems and situations as a whole.

We know we will have to go to the far away districts in order to save Mexico educationally. It is very easy to pacify oneself over having fine schools in the capital of the Republic or the capital of the states and seeing what kind of fine work they are doing; but it is very hard when you think of all those places and children without any schools. Our principal problem is getting far enough away to reach all of the Indians, for there are many who do not speak Spanish, who do not understand it at all. It is very clearly our great problem in Mexico to help educationally; it is a question of schools.

We have an illiteracy of 62 per cent of the population. That means over 8,000,000 people do not know how to read and write, including children. We have almost two million and three-quarters of school age at present. There are approximately one million and three-quarters going to school at present. In other words, out of our two million and three-quarters of possible school children, one million are not going to school. They are not going because there are no schools to which they can go. We have no means yet of forcing them to go, for we simply have not enough schools. One of the great problems is that the department lacks funds to open schools or to send an extra teacher here and there. We have more children than we can take care of. It is simply a question at present of establishing some more schools. The schools we have already established are not adequate.

In 1925, the twenty-eight states, independent of the federal government, had 4,635 rural schools. The federal government this year has 2721 rural schools. We have 4,208 elementary schools supported by the states and 683

secondary schools. The total number is 7,356 schools; the total enrollment was 1,049,521 in all schools. The percentage of school age attending at present is 39.57. Only four out of ten of school age are going to school at present. That is, in the public schools. Unfortunately we do not have statistics on the private schools. Of course a number of these children are going to private schools. A good guess would be that five out of every ten children are in school at present in Mexico; that is, four in the public schools and one in the private schools.

Now this is the problem we have before us. We have to provide for another two million children. We have also the question of adult illiteracy, but, to tell the truth, that doesn't worry us much. Simply because we want to get to the children first and our first and most elementary duty is to them, to see that they have schools in order to stop the illiteracy for coming generations. If we do not get to the adult population, they will have to die; but in the next generation we will not have so many illiterates. The trouble has been formerly that schools were not provided for the children, thereby increasing the number of illiterates. There is no reason for opening schools for adults when there are none for the children. It is simply a question of providing schools for these children. We have also to remember that most of these children are out in the country. We have to remember that a good many of the children are Indians, of pure Indian blood. We have to remember that the states are expending 40 per cent of their budgets in schools and could expend very much more. It stands to reason they cannot, unless their economic status changes a great deal, do much more. The duty of the department is clear; we must open the schools. The states cannot establish in the country or rural districts enough schools.

What kind of rural schools we establish just now it does not matter, just so we can have schools. We are not very particular about anything. We grab a man or a woman and put them in a school if they are willing to teach it. Once he is there, we begin to ask some questions: what do you know and what are you doing; and we are trying to improve those teachers in service. We need a thousand teachers this year. Most of our teachers do not have more than a primary school education, that is, six years; some have a little more; some are normal graduates; but some of them have not even completed primary school, they have had not more than four or five years schooling. It is sometimes difficult to help them, as they are more or less mature men and women. They average about twenty-one years of age. We have about 50 per cent men and about 50 per cent women. There is one thing we do ask and try to find out—whether they have an interest in this work, that is, if they have a missionary spirit. We ask of these people a true missionary spirit, an interest in social welfare. Their work has a much wider and broader social outlook than a teacher would have ordinarily.

The Department has established 2,721 rural schools this year. These schools are mostly one teacher schools. Ninety-five per cent of them are only one teacher schools, or were so last year. We have increased our rural schools this year by one thousand. The rural schools are the product of four years' work. Four years ago, we did not have a rural school supported by this Department; the Department of Education did not establish rural schools in Mexico before. In 1912, the first revolutionary government under Mr. Madero started the national schools, but Mr. Madero was in office such a short time they just started. We were just getting to the preliminary work. We had some people in the fields when Mr. Madero was killed and the next day the work dropped out. I mean the rural schools' work. When Mr. Carranza came in, there was a similar movement for rural schools, but nothing was really

accomplished in that short period.

We are now in a position to accomplish a good deal provided we have the money. We could then have schools very fast. It is only a question of getting the money necessary to establish new schools. The program for next year calls for the establishment of one thousand schools more, for one thousand teachers more for the schools which are to be established, and also to make the schools already established two teacher schools instead of one teacher schools, that is, we will have two thousand teachers more than now. We are studying our budgets and you may be sure that every million we can snatch off from the department of finance is being taken. I have been thinking of two thousand schools instead of one thousand schools. I do not know whether the financial status will support my dream. We have the thing down to a fine point. With one million pesos and a quarter, we can establish one thousand rural schools. It means just getting this many millions; and getting the millions is not an easy matter when sometimes we have to fight for one hundred pesos.

The nature of the work in these rural schools is without precedent. We are not bothered with educational dogma of any kind. That is a very fine thing. We say the rural school is to create the rural spirit; that it is very essential to explain to pupils in a very elementary way the rural life; we say the end is to try to incorporate these children into the Mexican family and to bring the parents into the fold through them. Something is done sometimes directly with the parents. In most of the rural schools we have night schools; generally the young men and young women come to the night schools to learn; then we have some kind of social action with parents,—and we give them whatever help we can. We send out libraries and see that special service for inquiries is established so that the people out there can send in questions about their problems and we answer them through our library department here; but we mainly work with the children in the schools. We teach them how to read and write; and while these country schools are really not much more than three hour schools, our main aim, our principal desire is to teach all these children how to read and write. There are quite a number of people who do not speak Spanish. We teach them the language.

In each state, to supplement the work done in the rural schools, there is established at least one elementary school as fine as we can get it, something practical, teaching what the people in the community can hope to attain and can understand. We establish this elementary school in the capital or one of the larger cities or towns of the state; through that school we are teaching the school system for the state. We have, of course, in some of the smaller villages an elementary school. We have vocational schools in some parts of Mexico and we are supplementing the work of the states. Here in Mexico City we have something worth while, open air schools. These schools are interesting because they are schools for the slums, for destitute children, put up at the very cheapest cost. They are quite a success. We found ourselves unable to build enough schools for Mexico City. We had to devise a very cheap structure and so we devised the open air schools. This is a new project, without any previous example, a striking-out on the new education, on the new idea of doing, action, activity. It will bring about a great change with these children. It is social; it is a grouping of the children; it is advancing them and giving them some of the education they ought to have.

I want to tell you how we are training our rural school teachers. To begin with they have very little education, little or no training, but they have enthusiasm for their work; in that they excel. They are really very deficient in their technique; they want to do things but they cannot.

We have a group of special teachers that goes out into the different states. They gather these teachers together in some central place and hold institutes. Their work is to help the rural teachers and their pupils. In this group there is an educator expert in rural education; in fact, each one of the group is a specialist on some subject to help these rural teachers. One is an expert in home economics; another is an expert in matters pertaining to agriculture. These experts are the teachers in the institute. They give to the teachers who come to them from the country schools all the help and instruction they can for the few weeks they are there. Sometimes they establish their institute in one of the small villages and the village school is used as an example for the institute. There is no time wasted in taking examples of schools in New York or somewhere else. We work to make these teachers better able to use whatever material they have at hand. Here is your plant and your children, now do the best you can and we will help you to do it, say the group teachers. They go out and do whatever needs to be done. They vaccinate, they give lectures on hygiene, they give entertainments and try to start some social life; they get the mothers to come and they teach them how to work; they organize a parents association; anything, any action or social work according to the conditions. When they get through with that village, the teachers return to their villages and their schools and the institute goes somewhere else to do the same kind of work for other teachers and other people. The traveling institute will be the greatest help for these people in the future. In time we hope to extend its influence in every state and to every community. We believe it will bring about many changes in these communities.

QUESTION: How many of these groups are there and how much territory will they cover this year?

ANSWER: There are six of these groups functioning now, since the first of May. By the end of the year they will have covered one-half of the Republic or one-half of the teachers that we have sent out into these rural districts to rural schools. Next year we have plans to increase these traveling groups so as to cover the entire Republic and perhaps visit some of these places twice.

QUESTION: Are the foreign interests that are exploiting Mexico doing anything to back up the government giving the Mexican people an education? Do the interests in Tampico and Vera Cruz see to it that the people who are serving them and whose wealth they are taking away are gaining an education?

ANSWER: Yes and no. Some of these companies have schools for their employees; but they are exceptions. Of course, they have no legal obligation to do it and we should not expect them to go out to make charity to us; they might do it if they were a little more humane. But they do not. Since last year we have received, from two oil companies in the petroleum region, nearly eighty thousand pesos, given in two different sums, which we have used for open air schools. They were given to the Department to be used in that way. So far as I know these are the only gifts we have received. As you know these people are not in welfare work.

The federal government is establishing agricultural schools. The President personally has been directing this, because he has so much interest in the matter. He is establishing four large agricultural schools in as many regions of Mexico. They have bought large haciendas and are building agricultural schools for the young people of 15 years of age. They will bring them from all over, for these will be boarding schools with two year courses. They will be taught agricultural science. The President has established four, which are

nearly completed, and he is planning to build four more next year.

QUESTION: What does the C. R. O. M. do? Has it not a number of night schools?

ANSWER: Yes, and they really work. They have been establishing a good many schools. They work with us to get schools. It is through them that many schools have been established. We have a number of working men's schools, night schools supported by this department.

QUESTION: What is the minimum and maximum wage of your rural school teachers?

ANSWER: For the one-teacher rural schools we have only one salary—two pesos a day, 720 pesos a year. Next year we are going to change that and make it a minimum salary, and then work on a scale of salaries up as high as four pesos a day.

QUESTION: Are the Protestant schools doing good work?

ANSWER: Very much so, for two reasons. One is that most of the teachers put in these schools have a missionary spirit, which is what we need, and also some of the schools established by these missionaries for their churches have brought new methods and new ideas which have helped us in many ways, new methods, new movements, which have served as a guide for our system. But there have not been so many. Sometimes they have tried to match the public schools instead of going out where there were no schools. Sometimes they have tried to set up a school here or in the capital of a state where the need was not so great. I have always felt that the missionary should be where the schools were limited in extent, where they might do more good and reach more of the people who would not be reached in any other way.

QUESTION: Is there anything in your present educational or religious laws that would prohibit people who were interested establishing schools?

ANSWER: Not so long as they comply with the federal regulations.

QUESTION: Is it not true that many of the mission schools in Mexico City were here before the public schools?

ANSWER: Catholic schools, yes; but not the Protestant mission schools. They came in 1860, 1871 or 1872. The first schools in Mexico City were the church schools.

QUESTION: How do you provide for your buildings?

ANSWER: In reality we do not provide; we ask the village for a hut or building. It is a local responsibility. And we want to keep it so. We have no money for buildings, and inasmuch as we give them a teacher, supplies and everything else, they should be able to furnish these buildings.

QUESTION: What standard equipment has each school in these rural communities?

ANSWER: We give them books and blackboards and desks (not standard American desks, but something to sit on), one or two maps, a Mexican flag—and permit me to say this is important, for in many cases these children have never seen a flag before. Very modestly. We are not up to the standard of California, Illinois or any of those states.

The Labor Movement

SEÑOR LUIS MORONES, Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, gave an interview Friday evening, August 6. Señor Salomon de la Selva was the interpreter.

Senor Morones said:

One of the questions that has aroused great interest in the United States concerning Mexico is the development of the oil industry in Mexico. The chief cause of trouble is the hurry in which events have succeeded one another. Oil was discovered in Mexico and its exploitation began almost overnight, which brought about many disputed interests. Oil was an unexpected thing in Mexico. Investing interests crowded into Mexico instantly.

From 1917 until the regulations of the oil laws were passed last year, the oil industry in Mexico was controlled by transitory laws. Previous to 1917 there were practically no acts regulating the oil industry in Mexico. All interests did whatever they wanted. After 1917 there were transitory laws. Recently there have been permanent laws passed. The vested interests since the laws have been controlling them have been very bitter and have been fighting us. Only a few days or a few weeks since did the oil interests realize Mexico had every right to do what she has done.

In a short while, Ramirez Carrillo, head of the Legal Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor, will explain these oil laws and the difficulties that arose on account of these laws; difficulties, I am happy to say, which only a short while ago lessened considerably.

I will now speak to you briefly concerning the labor movement. The labor question is closely related to the petroleum legislation, because previous to the constitutional amendments in Mexico labor suffered because there was no check on oil companies requiring proper treatment towards the field laborer on the part of these companies, or on the part of all kinds of companies, including Mexican. Previous to the revolution of 1910, which was nothing but one revolution after another, which did not better the laborers, the average salary was ten or fifteen centavos a day. The average weekly wages were between one peso and a peso and a half. With the revolution, a different attitude came. It was possible to enact the 1917 constitution and, with the 1917 constitution, to organize all labor; but these results follow sixteen years of almost unceasing revolution. The present wages for field labor are now one peso and a half per day and for industrial labor four pesos per day. The life of the laborer naturally has changed a great deal for the better since these laws have been passed and due to the fact that labor has organized and maintains the best relations with the government and will continue to maintain them. It is not mixing in the government, but keeps to its own affairs. The revolution made it possible for this government to have land. Whereas before we had serfs, we now have people with their lands. These revolutionary governments brought troubles into Mexico but they have done away with many of the troubles.

The labor movement in Mexico is not as it is frequently painted in the headlines in the United States. The labor movement in Mexico has much influence for it to do good. Mexico had to change its systems over night as it were. There was a change of system throughout the country, changed by the Constitution of 1917, looking towards fairness and justice. It was not possible to have a fully ordered organization without trouble, but this trouble has been caused principally by those who have been fearing the results of the law and the enforcement of labor rights. The foreign capitalist and many others were not interest in the law nor in the enforcement of it. Before the poor working man received only 50 centavos for his day's work, but now it is different from when he worked those long hard days. Well, when all this was changed the capitalist howled, both the native and the foreign capitalist, and in the United States they said there was no protection for American capital. You people in the United States have not had this difficulty, you have not had to fight this

way for the welfare of the worker. You people have not had to deal with such conditions. In the United States, the head of a firm or of a business has to work. He comes to his office regularly. He comes to his office to work. But here in Mexico it was different. He spent all his time and money in Europe and going around the world. If there were any difficulties in finances in his firm, he solved them by reducing the wages and increasing hours of work. These people have raised up and howled that Mexico is not the place for good investments because their property is not protected in Mexico. You people who have come to Mexico cannot see that the government has never tried to regulate the laws for all in a proper way. That is one of the things these revolutionary governments have tried to do; they have tried to improve conditions, to right the wrongs for the poor fellow. If there are improvements in production, the labor that helps to produce it should benefit from the improvements.

The government has also demanded from the laboring classes and organizations that they bear their duties as well as the man higher up. There has been much discussion in the United States as well as in Mexico on account of the demands of organized labor. The government recognizes it as a great force but it does not let it go; neither do the laborers let it go. The government in 1917 realized the inherent rights of labor to make demands and have those demands granted. It has also told labor, "you have duties to perform, remembering what the country can bear."

One of the difficulties in not having real, exact, clear, impartial information regarding things in Mexico is that this information is not always impartial. Mining men in the United States, people who want to invest in mines, ask for reports from the miners here. People who want to trade in certain things ask that information from people who trade here. They ask the people in the same commercial, industrial line for this information, who are interested in keeping other people out of the field, in not having any competitors, and their reports from these people who are interested are not always good, impartial reports. The report usually given is not favorable to us.

But we can only try to fulfill the Constitution of the revolution. Many mistakes have been committed, many errors. This government has been made up of men who have had to draw their experiences from the affairs of life. Men of the Calles government are men of humble origin and liable to make mistakes or to fail in their effort to see that the program of the revolutionary constitution is carried out. It is a very great undertaking that has been started; and all are trying to carry it on with much difficulties.

A great deal has been said about the religious difficulty of the present government, which is seeing that the laws are complied with. It has had difficulties with the oil people in seeing that the laws concerning oil are obeyed, difficulties with the land owners in seeing that the agrarian laws are enforced, and now with the Roman Catholic Church in seeing that the laws are enforced. It has had difficulties since the enactment of the constitution of 1857, declaring that all churches should obey and that all their property belonged to the nation; and then since the constitution of 1917, also the same thing. The present government proposes to see that the constitution of 1917 is put into effect, that its different provisions are carried into effect and obeyed. Since the church did not obey, in accordance with this constitution, the government has made certain regulations regarding it and education. Among these regulations is one that religion shall not be taught in the primary schools of the country; that no child shall be taught religion in the school until he has reached a certain age where he can make choice of what religion to follow. That is what the Roman Catholic Church did not want; they did not want any

other religion; but the law gives all a right to think. Another regulation is that the church buildings belong to the nation. They have been belonging to the nation since 1857. The 1917 constitution does not change the provisions in that fact. The state is the owner of these church buildings. It so happened that the owner did not know where all these buildings were. It was required that the priest in charge in each church should be responsible to the government or to the state for this property and should register as being responsible for this church so that any change there from one priest to another would be known to the state and how the property was administered. The church has brought about the so-called religious conflict because it did not care to comply with the law. The nation cannot do otherwise than enforce the law, which is the origin of the religious problem and has seemed such a serious problem.

I want to emphasize the duties and the rights of laborers as organized laborers. They are all expected to fulfill their duties and then their demands and rights are considered.

The Oil Laws

IMMEDIATELY following the Morones interview, Senor Gonzalo Ramirez Carrillo, head of the legal division of the department of industry, commerce, and labor, discussed the Mexican oil laws through Senor de la Selva as interpreter. He said:

I am going to give an outline of the oil laws in Mexico. The Government is doing something worthwhile for the Mexican. They believe they are working honestly and there is no reason to keep in the dark this oil situation. The Mexican laws concerning oil and mining in general have their origin in the time when Mexico was acquired by the Spanish. The Spanish Crown reserved all rights to the soil and the sub-soil. This was in the body of laws enacted by Alfonso the Wise. During the reign of Peter III, there was a deviation from this because that king wanted to grant certain religious institutions the right to maintain here and gave them the rights to the soil and sub-soil. That division by King Peter did not last long because under the reign of Phillip II they considered that these religious institutions did not develop fully the soil and the sub-soil and enacted a decree taking back all these lands to the Crown, reserving the right to give to these subjects the right to exploit this land.

Since the ordinance of King Phillip there has been almost no change at all in these laws regarding soil and the sub-soil, especially regarding the sub-soil. These laws become retroactive in Mexico as by the ordinance of 1783, which were for a short time; but were changed again in 1784; that is according to the original documents. I have brought with me these documents which can be examined. The ordinances of 1783 decreed that all products of the sub-soil belonged to the crown, not only metals and fuel but "Betunis", which means the juice of the earth, which includes petroleum, later discovered. These ordinances enacted by the Spanish Crown in 1783 were included in the free Mexico, on account of the fact that in the treaty signed between the revolutionary forces that made Mexico it was understood that the Spanish laws would be the laws of free Mexico until free Mexico had time enough to enact its own proper laws.

In 1884, for the first time Mexican legislators concerned themselves regarding the sub-soil, granting the products of the soil to the owner of the soil, but the owner remaining subject to whatever laws the state might pass upon that exploitation. Article 10 of Chapter 4 of the Laws of 1884 were the first passed; then again in 1892 and still later in 1909 laws to the same effect

were passed. Note first, the state did not surrender the sub-soil entirely to the owner of the soil, but it made it possible for the owner of the soil to use it. The principles from time immemorial regulating property in Mexico are as follows: Full property is enjoyed when the enjoyment of that full privilege does not interfere with the general welfare or oppose the regulations of the welfare of the nation. Under this principle there are two kinds of domain, the domain to use and the domain or the full privilege to do with property whatever the owner wants. Those are the principles regarding property that embodied in the civil code of 1872 and the civil code of 1884.

According to general regulations of law, there are three kinds of property, or there are three principles that govern property. First, the principle of eminent domain. The principle of eminent domain is that it is held by the state. The state has the right of eminent domain in its jurisdiction, to take it whenever necessary. Also this principle of eminent domain provides for whatever policy or other regulations it is considered necessary for the state. Then there is full domain on the part of the owner or citizen in the state, to enjoy, to own, to exploit. Then there is the semi-full domain or the right whereby the owner owns but somebody else uses it for exploitations. The code of 1884 was a deviation from these principles. Therefore, the legislators of 1917 went back to the principles which the people were accustomed to before the civil code of 1884, establishing laws which were accepted in Mexico. These principles are in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution. Article 27 defines the various kinds of property—whether eminent domain, full domain or otherwise. It does not give the state all right to use and enjoy the sub-soil. It grants the state a semi-full domain; the state has the domain, but someone else uses and enjoys it. And the state granting the use to the sub-soil is not only giving a favor but fulfilling a duty. It is obligated to grant the use of the sub-soil to the citizens of the Republic.

Those that voted against Article 27 of the Constitution made so much trouble with it, it was necessary for the Supreme Court, which is the highest judicial tribunal in the country, to pass upon and establish the correct interpretation of Article 27 so that it did not injure the rights, legal or acquired, under laws previous to the 1917 Constitution. According to the constitution if there are five court decisions that bear upon the same matter and that agree, that establishes precedent which is to be embodied in the law. The trouble made against Article 27 compelled the Supreme Court to give these five decisions. In accordance with the article of the Constitution and with these decisions of the Supreme Court, the petroleum law recently enacted has embodied the provisions that all those who have legal and acquired rights in the sub-soil will continue in these rights, but it establishes whether the man is the owner of the soil or whether he is the possessor only of the oil rights which he has acquired. In conformity with this law following rights will be granted without the holder thereof, the sessionaire, making any expenditures: all rights derived from lands for working petroleum exploitation, which work should have taken place before the enactment of the 1917 constitution, that is the first of May, 1917, when the Article 27 went into effect; all the rights derived from contracts before the first of May, 1917, by the owner of the soil or all those that should be legally represented. If a company was formed previous to 1917 to exploit the sub-soil, its rights continue until the company is finally terminated. Here a company lasts fifty years or more. In spite of all previous legislation of Mexico establishing that any foreigner could not hold property within certain limits, there are properties all the way inside. In spite of that fact the present government has granted foreigners who came in good faith to invest in property within these limits full rights.

Let me explain how to go about proving that the rights which the law grants were really acquired. The laws of 1909 demanded in order to consider the owner of the soil as having ownership of the sub-soil that he should have exploited the sub-soil. That is, the man who owns the soil is not the owner of the sub-soil. The exploitation of the sub-soil was necessary in order to own it. A fight was had over that, of course, over the sub-soil. Present legislation is simpler than that. Then in order to prove that a man had a right to the sub-soil, he had to prove he had worked or exploited the sub-soil. Now he has to prove only that he at least had the intention of exploiting the sub-soil; that he was ready to contract or had contracted to exploit the sub-soil, or some such thing.

Now let us take the moral side of the problem. As Mr. Mcrones has told you, the discovery of oil was an upstart thing. It was an upstart industry. It was discovered over night, as it were. It brought into Mexico men of all kinds who wanted to have something from it. It brought into Mexico men of good faith, but it also brought into Mexico men of bad faith, adventurers. These adventurers and gentlemen of industry were trying to get hold of this instant discovery, wealth, by methods that were not legal; they tried to acquire rights over petroleum property by methods that were not legal. They had to deal with poor Mexican people who knew not the value of the land and they applied all kinds of measures to get their rights away. Very often these adventurers by foul means obtained titles to properties. Then there are other titles. There are people or companies who are honest and acquired their titles in good faith, but these titles are not good. That is, the adventurer sells his title to these people who buy in good faith, they not knowing that the title is not legal.

Nevertheless, the government is trying to find a solution for all these problems. It has found a solution. It will confirm all rights of title legally acquired by either fair means or foul means, by considering the good intentions, whether these people previous to 1917 performed some work on the land or entered into a contract for the exploitation of the sub-soil of that land. The government could not make any more liberal offer or concession.

Therefore, in the first part of Article 14 it is established that all rights will be confirmed by means of the people or companies showing that they had performed works of exploitation for the petroleum before the first of May, 1917. It says nothing about whether these titles have been legally or foully acquired, but solely whether exploitation or work has been done on the land previous to 1917. As you see the government has been more than generous, more than liberal, more than could have been expected.

In order for you to see how this exploitation was taken and the titles acquired, I am going to tell you a story. After the conquerors were dead (the conquerors were not afraid of the Indians), the people who came to colonize Mexico were afraid to come as the conquerors had done and acquire the land. Therefore, they formed themselves into groups or companies and established somewhat of a town and exploited it as a group. They held titles to these lands granted them by the king. The kings in that manner would pay these men for services they had performed by giving them title to these lands. Many of these people were of religious orders and wanted to establish their church. Now, the agencies for these first settlers and conquerors and their descendants who had inherited these properties and titles began to do away with them and stop working them and began selling them to Indian communities who continued with this land abandoned by the first settlers. This property remained then in the hands of these primitive Indians, Indian communities, until petroleum was discovered. Usually it was worth about fifty centavos a hectare. The reason it was worth so little was because there were

no highways. The Indians had had it because it was so worthless. The Indians, primitive, ignorant, were not careful to hand it down to their children as they had the right. Suddenly oil was discovered. These ignorant Indians had no titles to their lands, except the initial titles from the feudal barons; then the evil lawyers who were employed for the people who wanted this land (for you all know rich men can have good lawyers) were working together to get this land away from the poor Indians. It was a case of the clever man dispoiling the ignorant. In this way oil companies acquired lands, acquired titles to some of these lands where the Indians had no titles. They had only possession from a long time back. To acquire all these old titles it caused all these lawyers to work, for they could not legalize them.

Most of the oil companies took care of legalizing the titles of the oil lands they acquired, but a few oil companies were not thus careful; they were not careful to legalize their rights to these oil lands according to the legislation in force previous to 1917. It is the same civil legislation in force now. And these few companies that were not careful now try to keep up the objections concerning the petroleum law. Most of the companies and chiefly the larger companies, however, clearly understood the game regarding this, and they complied with the law. The companies with bad titles have been making all the difficulties, because the government is not at all interested in anything but in a proper exploitation of this wealth of Mexico.

Previous to the law recently enacted it was the custom of the government if oil exploitation had been carried on not to bother if the titles to the land were legally acquired. That is, the government did not look into the titles of the companies asking for exploitation permits. Even now, after the enactment of the petroleum law, the department grants previous permits to those who have been exploiting petroleum in Mexico. Sometimes it is a long time that is granted them to prove the legality of their titles. That is, they are not forced to close down immediately, but rather can have a long term or period to prove their titles or rights under which they may work. Not only in Mexico but in no other civilized country is a man allowed to exercise a right he cannot prove he has. Nevertheless, the government in order to find a solution to this problem has been very liberal. It doesn't demand that these companies who have been exploiting people legally trace all their rights but will accept proofs that bear the appearance of being legal. It doesn't put into force fully the regulation of existing laws. It gives them as grace to prove whatever they have according to previous laws. Now, in spite of the fact that the government has taken this attitude, this small group of oil people who cannot prove the legality of their titles have been making a great deal of trouble for the government instead of blaming their own lawyers for the trouble they have been creating.

Whatever the legislation, the government does not want to take over property from them. The government is not interested in taking the property away but in having things righted. On June 8 this department of industry issued an order, called an "acuerdo", considering that these people had perhaps invested money in oil exploitation in good faith, considering that if an oil well came out and was no good they had to dig up another, considering that it was not good policy to put anything in the way of these oil exploiters, and because of a written petition sent to the department by these oil people. This acuerdo granted them six months in which to prove their rights. And these people, instead of being thankful for this grace that the Department had granted in order to do them a favor, began to say that their rights were not protected in Mexico and that we wanted to take their property away from them. In spite of that the department has told these people, "If you have any

kick coming, come over and we will settle things." The department has no further desire than that exploitation shall be thoroughly conducted.

Fortunately, most of them if not all have come now to where they see the point of view of the government and are trying to work in accord with the government; see that the government does not want to put any obstacles to this wealth, but seeks to benefit the exploiters themselves, the government, and the country as well. If mistakes have been made on the part of the Mexican government on these questions, it has been through ignorance and not through bad faith. The government wishes to stand on a substantial plane, which is the only way of being strong.

The Religious Problem

SENOR ADALBERTO TEJEDA, Secretary of the Interior, gave an interview Saturday morning, August 7. The stenographic report of the interview was submitted to him for examination. The following report received his approval:

I am extremely happy to know that this group of American students, representing various vocations of life and with the best intentions to understand the real situation of Mexico, have come here to find out our real problem and to help us in our efforts to solve the problems placed before the government.

I justly consider this representative group as a general representation of the advanced democracy of the mature political organization which is considered as one of the most advanced in this continent; and we do believe that this group has come to us to look closely into these problems and to investigate conditions here so as to form an opinion of the endeavors of this country to help in all possible ways to organize and develop normal people for good that is waiting to be done on this continent. We believe that with your moral standards, with your knowledge of social life and social stability, you may be able to investigate with us some of our problems and help with what we are doing for the people.

I limit myself to the so-called religious problem, because that is the special activity or subject relating to this Department which will interest you, as I understand. I must say at once that the present struggle between the church and the civil government is nothing new with us. It started along during the colonial government. The church has always been struggling with the civil authorities, to whom it has always been hostile.

During the colonial government, the church controlled most of our civil organizations. It had to condemn and combat the cause of independence. When this was near to be attained, the church began to plot in order to control indirectly the civil power, and created therefor the empire of Iturbide. When the empire failed, they never stopped in their efforts to keep political control. The church may be considered as the principal cause of our revolutions, which it provoked as far as bringing the French intervention. Defeated by the Liberals, they waited for the military revolt of Tuxtepec, and took advantage of General Diaz's dictatorship to recover slowly their old privileges, until the revolution of 1910 came again to rectify the situation in spite of the plots and intrigues of the clergy, which greatly contributed to the murder of President Madero and Francisco Villa's rebellion against Venustiano Carranza.

The last events of this struggle were seen lately, when the Archbishop of Mexico openly defied the government and refused to submit to the law.

So the conflict was started by the church, who were declaring defiance to the law.

This aspect of the problem is not exclusive to Mexico. The Catholic Roman church, according to history, has been doing always the same thing in nearly every other country where they had any chance for absolutely civil control. Mexico's particular case is more serious, according to the moral and intellectual inferiority of the clergymen, due to the leadership they have had. The Mexican clergy has been under the control of the Spanish clergymen. The Spanish clergymen sent to Mexico have never been the best or the choicest, but generally the refuse of priesthood. They are sent on account of their ignorance or due to their moral conduct and because they wanted to get rid of them over there.

It is but natural that the Spanish clergymen imported to Mexico and in general to Latin America must bring monarchial feelings which, mingled with their stern fanaticism, determine an evil action, opposed to any democratic ideal as well as any doctrine of freedom. They constitute, therefore, the most serious obstruction for the moral, economical and intellectual evolution of any nation.

That foreign clergy, moreover, had controlled the choicest positions, leaving the lowest to the Mexican priests, although these last might be considered as better qualified. Due to that fact, during General Diaz's administration, the Mexican priests tried to obtain from the federal congress a law forbidding the foreign priests their ministry in Mexico. Upon enacting such a principle, the constituent assembly of 1917 held in mind the moral, economical and intellectual conveniences I referred to, and were happily inspired.

Of course the Mexican government is right in not tolerating the rebelliousness of the Catholic clergy, and in not submitting to a continual struggle with the church. In order to avoid this, the Mexican government has made additions to the penal code, to be enforced only in deliberate failures to obey the law. The government only wishes to see that the law is respected and kept, and has only banished those foreign priests who have openly defied the government and the laws of the country by refusing to obey them; and also such foreign priests who deserve to be branded as undesirable guests on account of their misbehavior.

The Catholic clergy has been advertising to the world and trying to make everybody believe, here as well as abroad, that there is great religious persecution by the Mexican government; that it is trying to interfere in religious activities and interests in this country. That is only a misrepresentation of facts.

The Mexican nation, represented by its government, has never meddled in the religious activities or interests of any church. It is not trying to interfere with the liberty of religion in any way. It is the Catholic church, precisely, who has never accepted here in Mexico that principle of liberty of religion; and that is but natural to the church: Catholics do not want or accept any other beliefs; and if their main idea is to control the government and submit it to the Catholic church, it is for the purpose of eliminating any other creeds, whatever they be.

Such purpose was clear enough since the 1857 constitution was enacted. That congress understood clearly the situation; and when later the reform laws were enacted in 1859, the same principle of free religion was fully supported. Years later, when the 1917 Constitution was enacted, we always kept in mind the same freedom principle, and it has been our endeavor to attain in fact the complete separation of the church and the state.

This government is entirely impartial in religious matters; it only wishes

to protect everybody, to allow Catholics as well as Protestants or members of any other church to live all together freely in this country. The new laws and penal code ought to grant, of course, and in fact it is granted thereat, such principles; but as I have already said, the Catholic clergy does not want that liberty of religious worship and would gladly exterminate any other creed in order to establish, if they ever could, the Catholic religion within the government.

You cannot really appreciate in the United States how far the Catholic intolerance reaches, and there is a reason: Catholics over there are in minority, and appear submissive and compliant until they attain greater strength.

I believe the day is not far when, in the United States, the Catholics will provoke and start a religious struggle. The Catholics hate the Protestants. They would rather have Buddhists or even Pagans and better yet atheists, rather than any other creed of Christians.

All the government is trying to do is to give full protection to the exercise of whatever creed they want. The Catholic clergy ought not to fear so much the additions made to the penal code. Honest people should not be frightened by the penalties of the law: it is only the ill-minded who should feel such a fear. They have nothing to fear if they really behave themselves.

Possibly you are getting tired of what I am saying. But I have just talked in the most simple and familiar way to you. I had no address already prepared for you. My ideas are rather disrupted and I do not know how far you are interested in these subjects. I could extend this further on various phases of the church work in Mexico; and possibly I might show you something of the effects of their educational program and other teachings of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico. I should do it only to show you the failure of the church, in spite of the fact that they are claiming everywhere of having their schools and of teaching the people everything.

I could show you how they alter and deny scientific truths; how they disturb morals in the confessional; how they kill the individual initiative and will through the miracle; and many other things which clearly show how doleful they have been.

When Governor of the state of Veracruz, I had a chance to see closely some of the work of the church and its activities. I had to send commissioners to help among the poorest people, the Indians away in the mountains, to vaccinate them against smallpox when there were such epidemics; and to teach them in irrigation works. The sternest opposition always arose from the Catholic clergy. They always taught the people, especially the Indians away in the mountains, to pray constantly to the saints instead of accepting the vaccination; and to pray again to certain saints to assure the rains in due time for their crops, instead of achieving the irrigation works which were absolutely necessary because the water was always short. In such a way, they always opposed all rational practices, trusting every need to the power of praying to the saints. This was not only done with the pure blooded indigenous population, but with the mixed classes who resisted the most, incited by the church.

That means that all the advantages deriving from vaccination and irrigation works assuring the water wanted for the crops were rejected by the church, who only admitted prayers and alms, better than anything else. That is the most interesting thing for the church—alms, gifts. Who can ever believe that the clergy develops a moral and educational work, if everybody knows that the sinner is forgiven provided he makes some gifts to the church and says some prayers, good enough to clear from guilt and allow him to let

his evil passions be freely satisfied, since he knows how easily his conscience can be cleansed again.

Mexico endeavors to improve their fields and their homes by modern and moral methods, in accordance with reason. You can verify, therefore, how the church and the clergy have always been the most serious hindrance for popular progress, and never a help to the nation.

If you will investigate the progress of the Roman Catholic church, you will find that they have not been teaching and preaching Christianity, rather idolatry, the worst form of idolatry. That they have always tried to keep the people down, and not to help them to go up. The so-called great work of the clergy in their schools has never helped to ameliorate the people's lives, nor to improve their lands, nor to help anybody in any way.

You people, coming from an advanced country where science is applied everywhere, can easily understand how difficult it is for the Mexican government to attain the people's progress, when we have to counteract the gloomy programs of the church.

I am entirely willing to give you any other information in any of these lines, or more detail in any subjects. There is a vast amount of information to which you can refer, should you wish to do so.

A book is being written on these problems. I hope, as soon as I have it ready for distribution, to have it translated at once and get it into the hands of the American people, so they will understand our problems and know what we are dealing with. I have been very happy to see you here, and hope that you will enjoy your visit to Mexico. We will always give you any information you may desire.

MR. TAYLOR: We have been very glad to listen to Mr. Tejeda's interesting talk and to know that you are publishing a book on these interesting subjects. We hope you will have it out soon. Do you know how soon?

ANSWER: Yes, in about three weeks, maybe within this month. If you leave me your names and addresses I will gladly send the book to each one of you.

MR. TAYLOR: This is a characteristic interview (extending a San Antonio paper). Did you give it?

ANSWER: Yes, yesterday, in the interview that I gave out to a local paper and for the United States also. They asked me about some disturbances in some places of the country. I said that there had been some slight disturbances in Torreon, Irapuato and Ciudad Guzman, by groups of women led and incited by the priests; and that with the exception of those places, the situation was very quiet in the rest of the country. I also said that the separation of the priests from the churches and the appointment over all the churches of local committees to take care of them did not cause any trouble or disturbance at all.

QUESTION: About how many churches have been accepted by the government and abandoned by the priests?

ANSWER: We have not the complete figures. The governments of the different states have not sent their reports in yet. Before you leave the city we can give you these figures of all the churches received by the government. There are few exceptions where the priests have accepted the law and have continued.

QUESTION: Have any of the Catholic clergy registered?

ANSWER: Official notices have been received here of several priests who have accepted the law and have registered properly, especially in the states of Puebla, Hidalgo, Veracruz and Oaxaca.

QUESTION: How many Catholic schools have been closed and how many children left without school?

ANSWER: Not over two hundred schools INSPECTED by the government, NOT CLOSED. Some of them remained closed for a few days until the education department enacted the regulations. Now most of them are open again, but within the law.

QUESTION: How many closed because the nuns were sent away?

ANSWER: Those handled by the nuns were only six to eight. These schools will be reopened by the department of education, without nuns and complying with the rules. Such is the information given to me by the secretary of education who has fully shown that we need not those very few clerical schools.

QUESTION: There is a great difference between what statistics say and the Catholics proclaim.

ANSWER: In the department of education you can obtain all necessary information to verify how far from truth are the Catholic clergy, pretending to assign to their educational work an importance which it really has not, since that work is really null. Dr. Puig Cassauranc is capable of treating these topics with you.

MR. TAYLOR: The Catholic hierarchy has challenged you put your finger on a single case where they meddled in politics.

ANSWER: The very fact that they have stated publicly that they are going to ignore the laws of the country, is meddling in politics right away. But there is something else: In the last elections for representatives of the national congress, the attorney general has complete information regarding some priests filling up the ballots and counterfeiting the ballots in behalf of some candidates they had there.

QUESTION: Why would the church not allow the priests to register?

ANSWER: Because that means they admit the sovereignty of the state as well as its laws.

QUESTION: Then the statement of the church is not exactly according to law or facts?

ANSWER: Not at all. The state considers the ministers of any church only as members of a profession, and they should register the same as any other professional man. The state must decide how many priests are needed to look after so many people or churches. The Archbishop can freely appoint or remove anybody he wishes, but he can not do anything in that line which is prohibited by law. We are not meddling with the interior regulations of the church, as they claim, when we ask them to comply with the law and register. As you are aware, the properties of the church were nationalized in Mexico in 1859, and the 1917 constitution enacts the same. The buildings called temples, being a property of the nation, it is but natural that the government must know who are the priests in charge of the building, looking after its conservation and proper use as well as the compliance with law, which forbids the external or public worship. Besides that, the registering of priests is nothing new among Catholics. That has been already done in Italy, France and some other countries justly qualified as progressive. It is customary and needful that all professionals, in general, should register for statistical purposes as well as supervision of the professional exercise, all in behalf of the people.

Agriculture

SENOR LUIS LEON, Secretary of Agriculture, in an interview Saturday noon, August 7, spoke as follows:

The action of President Calles in this department of agriculture can be divided into two parts. The first relates to the agrarian problem; the second refers to the development of agriculture. The agrarian reform is carried on, following the principles of Article 27 of the Constitution and some other conditional principles and regulations connected with these constitutional principles. The main basis for the agrarian problems relates especially to the giving of lands to the different agents known among us as "ejidos". That problem had been in process of solution during the administration of General Obregon. The development of this problem effected many great land owners, and some individuals of the revolutionary group joined them in an effort to protect their interests, so it became completely political. Naturally the principal effort of the government was to down these interests. This particular effervescence brought about peculiar conditions because some of the land owners made tremendous efforts to protect their interests and some of the political plotters offered their services and so complicated the problem from a political point of view. General Calles's administration being more stable and more at peace has been making special efforts to separate the agrarian problem from the political. By our constitution, it is endeavored to make the agrarian problem a more technical problem and isolate it as far as possible from the political question.

The agrarian commission, which is under this department, has been doing a great deal of work to give all towns the country lands they need. About 60 per cent of all towns have now received these lands. They have not been given all the land needed, but it is a great deal more than all the land given in the previous ten years. We are working to facilitate, to hurry the solution of this problem. The method followed by the agrarian committee recently was to put the country lands in the hands of a local committee, who should make the distribution of these lands among the people who were to work the lands. That system brought about a very delicate problem in every town. The local committees had economic interests as well as political interests, so when distributing land among these people the man receiving land from that committee was bound to stand by the committee in every political engagement. This naturally brought about much trouble in every community. In order to correct these faults, this department made a draft of a new statute or law that was submitted to congress and thereby approved, providing for the distribution of the country lands so as to create a homestead in every locality.

The problem was too big in the first place—the dividing up of the land among the farmers who had to cultivate it; then, in order to protect the land from the land monopolizers in the locality, these homesteads were not to be sold but all lands were to be kept in cultivation by each individual owner in order that there might not be any monopolization. So that the first operation to be carried on in order to give this country land to the different agents against the opposition of the land owners is against the cooperated interests of these localities; and the organization of a country office to have the control of the lands against the monopolizers. Therefore, the production of the local lands is absolutely necessary.

I have just tried to explain the functioning of our committees in a technical and scientific way as carried on all through the country. But it may be interesting to you to understand something of the foundation of justice that

is back of all this system. In any country where the ownership would be based on their ability to cultivate the land, there would be established a system of irrigation. But the origin of land ownership in Mexico is grounded on the right of conquest to take the land from the Indians. The land distribution in Mexico took place among the different Spanish conquerors that came to this country. They divided up the land in large tracts. Not only the land was divided but also the natives, the Indians, were divided among these land lords under a feudal system. All of this land was granted to these conquerors with the understanding that they were to establish the Catholic church or religion. All of these people that went with the lands, they were virtually slaves. This was some form of slavery. The indigenous population did not disappear altogether from the country but continued to survive. For three hundred years, at least, the privileges were in behalf of the white population or the mixed race. When the war for independence came, that war had the principles of a caste war.

All through this history of three hundred years, the Indians had kept the land. The Indians thought that after the revolution, as they were the indigenes, that principle of their right to own lands and cultivate them to make their living. The land problem was to be entirely solved. They found, however, that after a few years by organizing the liberators monopolized the land in some form, leaving the Indians with only political rights but without any land to cultivate.

We had revolutions and civil wars, most of them under political principles. The struggle was for political control. The real war of principle took place in 1859, in what was called the reform war. In these times the principle was to fight for monopoly—the main monopoly was two-thirds of the wealth of the country. The energies of the clergy of the Catholic Church was to divide that great power and wealth up for it. After that reform war, the effort of the liberal movement was to take the land and the property away from the power of the church. But through the efforts of private parties who were interested, instead of getting into the hands of the Indians again it again became a monopoly. In the administration of President Diaz, which was a very long administration, these same conditions continued to exist, or worse, for during his administration more land was monopolized. More land was in the hands of the few; that is they consolidated many of these great estates in the hands of a few individuals. A great deal of national ruin was brought about among the leaders of that administration.

The revolution of 1910 was elementary, based on political subjects or institutions. Mr. Madero, the leader of much of that great policy, became the president of the Republic. But before two years passed, the army revolted and President Madero was killed. The failure of Madero and the experiences of that time, showed the revolutionary leaders that the revolution would never be complete unless it had an economic and social object. Of course Madero, who was a great democrat and a great patriot, found very soon after starting his government that land ownership was the biggest problem under his control. And the great majority of the men working under him and on the great political program of that time were seeing it the same way. Therefore, the only way was to work on an economic basis giving independence to the revolutionary worker so he might be in possession of at least some of the land and have a party in the industries of the country and not be controlled. That is the origin of the agrarian problem, or rather where the need of solving this problem began. That problem was forced upon us by hostile conditions in existence and by the demands of the day.

I know it is very difficult for the American people to understand the agrarian problem in Mexico, as there never has been in existence in the United

States the feudal system which has existed here in Mexico, with the great landed estates that came into existence during the administration of General Diaz. A few towns that kept their common lands up to the time of General Diaz at that time lost them and they passed into the hands of a few individuals who monopolized the lands. If any of these people had attempted to complain against the judicial department for the deprivation of their lands, the land owner was enabled to use force and have them imprisoned. If there was much complaint, then to have them conscripted into the army and finally have them sent to the worst spots of Mexico, the most remote spots such as Quintana Roo.

To prove that these are the real causes that have been active in this revolution, take note of a few things we can give to you. In a few sections of the country where the small land owner was respected and where these small pieces of land were not incorporated into the great, large estates, in spite of the revolution, production went on there in that part of the country; and in these sections the small land owner refused to enter the revolution; they would not pay anything for nor join the revolution. But on the contrary in those sections of the Republic where great landed estates were found, where all the land had been monopolized and was in the hands of the few and the rural population was deprived of land altogether, in these places most everybody joined the revolution and the greatest numbers in the revolution came from these sections. Therefore, we have come to the conclusion that the only way to establish permanent peace in this country is to solve this agrarian problem, is to allow each family land to have a home and children, to allow everybody a piece of land. When all this agrarian problem is properly solved, I challenge all the peoples in the world to start another revolution in Mexico.

We are greatly interested in this agrarian problem and we feel that we are indorsed by the American people in our efforts in solving it, with very few exceptions, that you ought to be deeply interested in solving this agrarian problem in Mexico. I am going to give you a few reasons why it should be so interesting. Mexico is one of the best markets for American industry and it will continue to be a very satisfactory market for all American products; the consuming capacity of the Mexican people will be increased if all these poor peons who now only use sandals or no shoes and white drill clothes have their homes and can have more of the things they need and want; up to now they have used only ground corn and chili and dressed with unbleached cotton and as long as they remain so they will not be good consumers of these things. But if we succeed in transforming these ten million people into people who dress better, use better goods and better articles of manufacture, the demand for American manufactured things will be increased ten or twelve times as much as now. Therefore, I believe that the American people ought to be deeply interested in the solving of the agrarian problem in Mexico. The difficulties that have arisen between the American and the Mexican governments over the agrarian problem have been greatly exaggerated. I am going to speak to you very clearly on this subject.

The American holdings that have been effected by the agrarian laws are not very numerous. Some of the largest land holdings within this region are open for debate, because some of this land was granted under concessions for colonization, made to the present owners who were bound to colonize it, but they have never colonized it. Those concessionaires succeeded in getting the administration or some of the government officials of General Diaz to absolve them from the duties of colonization so they would not have to go to all the trouble and expense of colonization but could use the lands themselves. The holders of these privileges or concessions are those who are always hollowing in the United States and making the reports that we do not respect their prop-

erty and that our laws interfere with their holdings or property regardless of rights. There is another group of large American land holders who are closely related and associated with Mexican great land holders who permit them to acquire interests. These individuals have been selected by the Mexican land owners to transfer their property rights apparently to them so that when the distribution of property comes, the owners are foreigners and not Mexicans. During the administration of General Obregon, there were committees representing both governments who met to discuss some of these international problems. Those commissioners established a definite basis for solving this agrarian problem. On the part of the United States the commissioners declared their acceptance of the agrarian laws; that they were willing to accept the limitation of land holdings of American citizens to one citron or 1745 hectares of land; that the government will be ready to accept that the land holdings of Americans shall be effected to that extent and that payments should be made in bonds according to the laws of Mexico, which bond issue is to pay for the land; that in case they should have to have more than these 1745 hectares, then said land is to be paid for one-half of it by bonds and the rest in cash. Therefore, in case the Mexican government were obliged to take over any land holding of an American citizen of more than one citron or 1745 hectares, the owners would be entitled to prove that they had gone beyond that and would be entitled to demand in cash.

The original procedure in taking this land from individual owners goes through several courses until finally it reaches the point of diplomatic consideration. Generally, however, most foreigners are not willing to wait for this matter to run its course, but they immediately ask for diplomatic intervention instead of waiting for the various courses of the law and justice. That is, they do not wait to see if justice is being dealt, but they ask for diplomatic intervention. Some of these people by their complaints have caused much trouble. They have brought about a great deal of friction between the two governments, and have published throughout the United States that we are going beyond what the law and treaties require, confiscating private property of American citizens in this country. As you may see there is a complete system of procedure in Mexico established by Mexican requirements and customs. Some American citizens do not want to respect the laws of Mexico and follow the procedure established by law.

The Constitution provides that when land is taken in these cases, the government has to pay for it, taking as a basis the physical value of the property plus 10 per cent. That physical value is placed by the owners themselves when paying taxes. Payment of the land is to be made by bonds of twenty equal payments, or in twenty years with equal payments each year and these bonds carry 5 per cent interest. During the administration of President Carranza a decree was published crediting the bonds to pay for the lands taken for agrarian purposes. But the land owners never appeared before the government claiming payment for their lands. In 1920, President Obregon published or enacted another decree, giving an extension for the land owners to present their claims for lands taken to provide common lands to the towns, but the land owners never appeared claiming payment. A new decree was published also by General Obregon in 1922, giving another extension of one year to the land owners in which to present their claims for payment for their lands, but none was presented. The argument used in this country and in the United States was that the bonds issued to pay for the agrarian debt were without market value. To use their own words, they were only wet paper. President Calles issued another decree last year, 1925, stating that a twentieth part of these bonds might be paid each year, and could be received in payment of

taxes and received by the national officials as gold. So by that decree these bonds were guaranteed, which should have destroyed the opinion of the land owners that there was no guarantee of these bonds. And another letter by President Calles guaranteed these agrarian bonds. Yet another guarantee of these bonds is that they can be accepted as collateral, for loans up to 66 per cent of the value of the bonds. In this case the number of land owners who have claimed payment for the land is simply ridiculous because it is so small.

The argument published so often in the American papers is that no indemnity is paid for lands taken in Mexico; but this is for political effect. Because all these land owners are constantly dreaming that another revolutionary movement may come along here in Mexico to overthrow this administration and undo what this government has been doing, taking away from the people the land given to them and turning it back to them, the land owners. I personally believe that those are simply dreams. I beg you to excuse me for taking so much time to explain these agrarian questions, but it is very necessary that the American people should understand.

By what I have been saying you may easily understand that if we continue favoring the country laboring man, we shall constantly be having a conflict with the land owners and shall never enjoy their support and friendship. Therefore, we have been forced to follow two different lines of activity. The first one is to help the small land owners of the common people who are making use of these common lands again to get their living and for their families; and the second is the individual land owners who are to cultivate their own lands. In order to help the small land owners who are making use of the common lands of the different towns, we have to use different kinds of methods. As the government of General Calles could not solve this problem everywhere in the Republic, we have selected special sections or spots in the Republic to give education developing these people and to help them cultivate their tracts. We have concentrated in four different states of the Republic. The agrarian problem is very complicated. Because if our procedure carries us up to the point where we have a man holding his own land and he has a homestead and in a position to cultivate it, the problem is still very far from being solved, because that small farmer in order to cultivate that land needs education. In the second place he needs a system of real credits by which he may get money to support himself and carry on his work until the crop is ready. And in the third place, a special kind of organization is needed to market his products to avoid the middle man, who generally deprives him of his work. Following that problem we have been doing several things. In the first place, we have established a school of agriculture. We have already established one in the state of Guanajuato; and we are to open three more new schools in three different sections before the end of the year. The program of each one of these sections is very small. In each one of them they can receive from 200 to 250 of the children of the common people. We have tried to establish these schools in good agricultural sections, giving to each one about 500 hectares of land, with water for irrigation, establishing them where they can have within easy reach good markets for their products. The plan of the government is that each one of these schools may be self-supporting in the near future. The pupils received are boys between sixteen and twenty. They will take a course of two years in farming, but they have to work half a day as laborers in the fields in the country. Half of them will be at work in the morning and the other half in the afternoon, learning to do the practical work of the farm. The other half of the day they will devote to their classes. They are led in the fields by experts who teach them how to do everything they have to do on the farm. During this course of two years they have to learn in a

practical way the local industries and the cultivation of the land according to local means. At the same time they have to learn practically how to farm and organize so as to defend themselves as producers of the land. The government will establish in each one of these sections a local branch of the national agrarian bank, to provide agrarian loans. The bank does not lend money individually to any person. In every town they have to form an agrarian association of credit. This association of credit is to be responsible as a corporation for the money loaned to its members. That is the only way we have found so that the money secured from these banks may be directly invested for agriculture; and this committee or corporation is to see that it is thus used. These banks have the power to make different kinds of loans. The first kind of loans is to help furnish seeds, implements, money for carrying on the cultivation of the land until the harvesting of the crops for that year. The loan is guaranteed by the crop. The second kind of loans are destined to enable the farmer to buy machinery or anything that will broaden the results by using them on his farm. The payments can be made in one year or up to five years. Another kind of loans is money given on mortgage of the property to the land owners who need money to develop their lands, for water for irrigation or some other reason. The money can be paid in one year or up to ten years. We are now charging very low rates of interest. Each one of these local societies will invest their profits from the lands in the shares of the bank, so that in five or six years they will own a good many shares in the bank itself. What we are after especially here is to educate the people to take care of themselves.

Our history deals with a common people who have always been in slavery in some form or other and all of whom look to the government in some dependent way. Those people look to the government for everything. If the government would establish government offices in local places and try to make these loans we are absolutely sure they could not collect one-tenth of the money loaned in that way. Therefore, we have decided to form national credit associations, guided by commercial laws, to collect the payments, and also to help educate them, by carefully making all these collections and the collection of interest, that everything they receive they must pay back. We believe that a man will only appreciate something when he knows that it has cost him something, some personal sacrifice, and not when given him.

In order to form the corporations to handle the products of agriculture, the law governing the banks establishes a committee to handle all the agricultural products. The bank itself or the groups from the local towns form concerns which will buy the crops at fair prices. Then they market them later when the prices may be better. After they have sold these crops, procuring the best prices possible, they charge a very small commission for the work and the balance is turned over to the farmers. That surplus generally was kept by the broker or the middleman. These are some of the methods we are using now to solve the agrarian problem in the country lands around the towns. We are trying to teach the people to use the land and then to market their products and get the most for them. We believe that with continued development along these lines, we shall give a great interest to agriculture in Mexico.

In order to help agriculturally we believe we will have to help the individual land owners. For these the government has undertaken to build up great water works in different parts of the country. The government has created a commission for building water works for irrigation. A great deal of time has been spent in surveying land and doing the preliminary work, the work is in progress, and before the end of the year we shall have spent about ten million pesos in irrigation. Next year the commission will be in a position to extend the work

so as to expend from twenty to twenty-five million pesos. We have estimated that during the administration of General Calles, we will have put in irrigation for cultivation 1,200,000 hectares of land. A great deal of that land is in the hands of the middle class, the renters, those who were sometime ago just renting land to cultivate all over the country. The other half of the land may be in the hands of colonists or immigrants. Conditions for acquiring lands for these colonists will be very easy. Payments can be made for twenty or twenty-five years. And in order to use all this land that has been made ready for agricultural purpose, I am very happy indeed to invite through you any American farmers who may wish to come to settle with us and to offer them these facilities offered by the government. We believe that if the Mexican government can continue with this problem for ten years, it will be in a position to put into cultivation more than four million hectares of land that has never been productive and that Mexico will have become one of the producers of the world.

In order to cultivate all this land we are planning to open for agriculture, we need the co-operation and help of foreigners. We do not have enough population here to develop this program. We will need immigrants from the United States and Europe to help us carry on this plan. In this program, we are always willing to receive with open arms all foreigners who may be willing to come and establish themselves in the land and cultivate the land. It has been said we have a nationalistic spirit that is very radical here in Mexico. And it has been said abroad that we compare with the "Boxers of China". But if individuals from any nation of the world are willing to come to Mexico bringing their own capital and work on a humanitarian basis, we are always willing to open our arms and welcome them. It is a fact we have certain bad feelings for adventurers of the capitalistic world who have come to Mexico asking for concessions for colonization purposes and who have never complied with them, and who have become owners of large tracts of land and who are now causing us the worst of trouble, invoking the aid of their governments. For this kind of speculators we do not have a very good will; but any friends who may come with their money to work, enjoy, to produce, to develop the natural resources, who come here to help us develop this nation, we are always ready to welcome them with open arms.

QUESTION: What is the average amount of land per person or farmer?

ANSWER: The figures vary a great deal; the quantity of lands varies from four to twenty-five hectares per head.

QUESTION: No, cities and towns.

ANSWER: That subject belongs to the department of commerce and industry and we understand that department has been studying the problem and intends to establish a program.

QUESTION: Does the government have any trouble in getting these people with tribal or group ownership so well established to assume individual ownership of the land?

ANSWER: The main difficulty is the ignorance of these people; they don't know how to cultivate the land nor how to market their products. They have never had to think for themselves.

QUESTION: Are they willing to change from their village ownership to individual ownership?

ANSWER: The system of common lands in Mexico, with two or three exceptions, has passed away. Now, they are trying to have an individual system of land ownership.

QUESTION: It is commonly considered in the United States that Mr.

Hearst owns 7,000,000 acres of land in Mexico; and is he one of those who is having the land taken away to be cultivated?

ANSWER: That report is not true. Mr. Hearst only owns about 450,000 acres of land in Chihuahua and another small portion in Colima; Mr. Hearst has refused to ask payment for this land at this time.

C. R. O. M.

SEÑOR RICARDO TREVINO, General Secretary of Federation of Labor of Mexico, addressed the group following a luncheon at Sanborn's restaurant Saturday, August 7. Daniel Gish and Professor Tolbert Reavis were the interpreters. Señor Trevino said:

According to the wishes of Mr. Gish, I shall speak to you about the inhuman treatment of the industries that are working in Mexico towards the Mexican working men. I was elected as General Secretary of the Federation of Labor in recognition of my former work when I was working the coal mines in the state of Coahuila. In the coal mines of Coahuila I was one of the carpenters putting in the timbers in the mines, the supports. There were mines of all kinds, gold, silver and other metal mines, and all were in the hands of large corporations, many of them of the United States—such as The American Smelting, Minerals & Metals Company.

The consumption of coal in this country is limited, except in the industrial plants. The coal mines are sometimes 6x9 feet, but this is an exception, because the coal mines are generally two, three or four feet. The miners in the United States have much better protection than we have and they get very much higher wages than the miners get down here. For every ton of coal that they take out here they have to take out much more rock. That is, for one car of coal they will have at least one car of rock. The men here receive about one-third of the salaries of the men in the coal mines in the United States. They have to work more hours and they also do about four times as much work. They receive one dollar American money per day. The coal mines must have supports of wood in order to protect the miners from the caving in of the mines. Every meter there must be a support to prevent the caving in. The cost of this work of supporting from caving in represents about 15 per cent of the cost of production. The metal mines and the coal mines throughout the country have not even one-half enough of the supports necessary to protect the lives of the miners. In the most dangerous part of the mine they send the miners in to take out the old supports, thus endangering their lives, in order to put these old supports in new places.

The transporting of the material and taking to the point of carrying out represents about 10 per cent of the production. Then they run cars loaded with coal down a slide incline without any control on the cars. There are at least fifteen cars at a time; this is done in order to avoid furnishing the motive power. They have boys of fourteen or fifteen years of age who put clubs of wood in between the wheels of these cars to hold them from going down hill so fast. Of course they have run away cars for lack of brakes. The result is there are about 52 per cent of the men working in the mines killed each year or injured. According to the statistics in the department of industry, commerce and labor, 90,000 men are losing their lives every two years. As a miner I was injured six times while placing supports.

With the oil companies, the inhuman treatment they mete out to the workers is still worse. In the oil zone it is excessively hot. Great quantities of

oil flow over the ground, making life almost unbearable. The people who work for the oil companies do not have houses to live in, but only huts, just coverings. They have no medical treatment. When a man is injured they have to carry him long distances in order to get him medical aid. The companies will tell you they have beautiful surroundings, ice plants, medical attention and hospitals, but they are not for the workers; they are for the general manager and his assistants. It is positively inhuman the way these men are treated. I can prove this from the manager of the Aguila Company, when I was working there in 1915 to 1918. I was kicked out of the restaurant where only the Americans and Europeans were allowed to eat; the Mexicans were not allowed to eat there. Of course there were a few Mexicans who held higher positions who were allowed to eat there. The place in which the ordinary laborers ate their food was in a place without ventilation, unsanitary, with very bad food. There was a first and a second class eating place. The first was where they had better food. In order to get first class food one paid for a meal ticket. In spite of having paid for eating in a decent place, I was forced to eat in an unventilated hut. A man who has any opinion of himself at all will not submit to being treated in that way in his own country. I objected to this treatment. To object is a very grave offense. No matter how they treated me I had no right to make any objection. They are feudal barons' places. They do anything they like. When the soldiers and the police do not help the foreigners to maltreat the Mexican employees, that is when you hear a great great outcry in the American newspapers how Mexico is treating American capital.

Mexico does not have anything but natural resources and men to do the work. We are naturally very much interested that our natural resources are properly defended from capital. But they are not only exploiting the natural resources but the people as well. The capitalists of the United States must understand where terminates the exploitation of the natural resources and where begins the exploitation of the Mexican people. The legislature of the country in Article 133 established this limitation. The limitation consists in the form of a labor law, making the day of the laborer only eight hours, with the salary sufficient to support his family; providing that women and the children must not work at night, that when a woman is going to give birth to a child, she shall not work for a period of three months before giving birth to the child, that all children under twelve years of age shall not work, that the workmen shall have a right to declare a strike when the employers do not comply with these conditions. When the government attempts to protect the workers under the Constitution, you get reports in the United States that Mexico does not protect capital.

Mexico is a country which is constituted entirely different from the United States. The United States was colonized at the start by a group of colonists from Europe. Mexico had its origin in a group of conquerors. Between the conquerors and the colonists there is a tremendous difference. When the conquerors arrived in this country, they came to make a war of conquest, to take possession of the land and the people. The King of Spain authorized these acts, giving them titles to land. They had tremendous land holdings. This land was always kept in the family from the father to the son. The revolution which crystalized in Article 27 of the Constitution has endeavored to divide this property in favor of the Indians in the little pueblos. The Constitution also establishes that all this land which shall be taken for the purpose of giving some land to the Indians, shall be paid for also. In spite of the fact that the revolutionary government does not recognize that these men have a just claim to the property, but to avoid the impression that it was dispoiling them

of their lands, it will pay them for their lands. That they have not been paid for up until now is because these great land holders have refused to recognize the bonds with which they are to be paid. This is what is called on the outside of our country the dispoiling of land.

Before the revolution the laborer earned from twelve to eighteen centavos per day, eighteen centavos being the maximum. The great estates were fenced in on four sides. In the middle are the houses of the workingmen. The doors or gates were closed at six o'clock or even 5 o'clock in the afternoon; they were opened at four or five in the morning. These were closed thus early in order to prevent the peons from escaping and not paying their debts, because they were always in debt. In sight of these miserable hovels was the house of the owner and of the parish priest. These priests always preached humility and allegiance to the land lord, but never did they do anything for the poor miserable wretches. This is explained perfectly well when you remember that these priests are from the same privileged classes. Thus we have an explanation of the lethargy of the priest in not doing anything for these poor people.

I wish to refer you to a gasoline problem in 1922. There was a difficulty in Tampico with the Aguila company. The company demanded protection from the American government. The strike was for the right of organizing labor unions. It lasted six months. There must be an explanation for such a happening. The American oil interests were induced to discuss this matter with the C. R. O. M. after a long time; but the workmen of this company first had to declare a strike before they would discuss with the C. R. O. M. After four months of this strike, the manager of the Aguila Company, Mr. Jacobson, came to see me in my office, to tell me the following: That the oil interests of America wanted to get into their hands the controlling interests of the Aguila and the Corona companies and that they were just deceiving the head office in London (the headquarters were in London), keeping up this strike in order to keep the stock low, in order that they might capture the oil markets. Mr. Jacobson said he was disposed to immediately arrange this matter with the C. R. O. M., and sign a contract with the workers. The contract with the workers was signed and the strike terminated in one week. Two or three weeks afterwards, Mr. Jacobson was called to London and succeeded by a new manager. This will show you that in many cases the workmen of Mexico are the victims of a competition of capitalists of the different nations which are trying to control our oil interests in this country.

QUESTION: How about workmen being discharged? We were told by a big shoe manufacturer that the government was not exactly just in its employment and discharge of working men in their munition factories near him, for they might decide what was a just discharge and discharge a workman without paying him three months' wages in advance; but that if he discharged a workman, he had to pay him three months' wages in advance.

ANSWER: That is not so. There is a committee which hears all these complaints and will decide them. I know of many cases where they have been decided against the working man and in favor of the employer.

QUESTION: What kind of coal mines are there in Mexico?

ANSWER: They are an average of 150 meters deep. Some of the metal mines have an average depth of 400 meters.

QUESTION: Are the employees in the government factories unionized?

ANSWER: The government has two classes of factories. The principal establishments are where they manufacture things for the army, and then the manufacture of arms. In the first, the right of forming unions is recognized as elsewhere. In the second, they have the right to associate themselves for improving themselves and for social purposes, but they do not have the right to go

on a strike, as they are manufacturing things for national safety. They have the right to meet every week with the director of this establishment and the heads of the different departments of the establishment; and they have the right to discuss matters with these heads.

QUESTION: Are they associated with the C. R. O. M.?

ANSWER: Both.

QUESTION: Are the policemen and firemen associated with the C. R. O. M. and unionized?

ANSWER: Not unionized, but affiliated with the C. R. O. M.

QUESTION: The demonstration that was held on Sunday, was it under the orders of the government or free? That is, we were told that these employees of the government were forced to respond in order not to lose their jobs or positions. Is that true?

ANSWER: This was under the direction of the special syndicate of federations of the Federal District. The approval of this movement was voted upon; the delegates voted as to whether they would do this as an approval of the government not only in this fight with the church but as a vote of confidence in all of its struggles.

QUESTION: In the press of August 2 it is stated that the payments of employees of the government were held until they had granted their allegiance to the government. Is that true?

ANSWER: Absolutely no. The C. R. O. M. marched in the manifestation; many of the employees of the government are members of the C. R. O. M., but not all employees of the government are members of the C. R. O. M. The C. R. O. M. was invited by the government employees to get in line and march in this manifestation. But it was the just act of the C. R. O. M. to see that none of the government employees were pitting themselves against the government. They felt that it was not right to have enemies of the government in there. In other words, who are the enemies and who are the friends of the government? The C. R. O. M. put it up to the government to put out the enemies of the government. In spite of the fact that they might be enemies of the government, General Calles said they had a right to live and were, therefore, entitled to their employment. It might be that some of these workers circulated this rumor that they were required to do so. There are those, too, who will guarantee that ten thousand soldiers dressed like working men were in this demonstration, thus making as small as they can the number of friends of the government.

QUESTION: How many people were in that parade that day?

ANSWER: We have no real figures. It is estimated there were more than 100,000. Army officers who are expert say that.

QUESTION: We have been told by some business men that for discharging an employee without good cause, one has to pay three months' wages.

ANSWER: Article 123 of the Constitution says that no man can be discharged from his work without a just cause and when the boss discharges him without a justification, then he has to indemnify him with three months' wages. This is what the law says. When he is discharged without good cause, he can bring charges against the employer before the courts and the courts determine whether there was a just cause or not. When the workman loses, he naturally charges there was an injustice. If the employer loses the case, he naturally makes the charge of injustice. Generally these employers have good lawyers to attend to their business, and generally the lawyers for the working man are "shysters" or just plain lawyers.

QUESTION: Can an employer give three months' notice in advance and avoid the three months' payment?

ANSWER: According to the law in the Federal District, he cannot. The workmen do not endorse this way.

QUESTION: Supposing a man is discharged without notice and he claims three months' pay, what does he do to get it?

ANSWER: His union takes up the case for him. His union stands between him and his employer. He takes it to the Secretary of the Union and they have a special man who takes it up with the courts, in the special department which was organized and which is known as the labor court. It is more or less an arbitration. But they have full authority to take it up to this court of arbitration.

QUESTION: We are also told that a case is never decided in favor of an employer but always in favor of the employee.

ANSWER: I can cite many cases in favor of the employer.

The Mexican Labor Movement

D R. J. H. Rettinger, author of a history of the Mexican labor movement soon to be published in England under the title, "Morones of Mexico," noted as a scholar, spoke before the Taylor group in its conference room at the Princess hotel Friday afternoon, August 6. Speaking in English, he said:

The basis of the labor movement in Mexico is that workmen could not live on what they were getting as salaries. They were fighting for existence. The labor question in Central America, South America, and Mexico has been pretty much the same. The laborer was working for from five to fourteen hours a day and receiving from ten to twenty centavos for this hard labor. Of course he could not subsist on it. He certainly could not pay for his barest needs and he could not spend any money on education. In primary education only was there anything done outside of some of the big cities and Mexico City. Therefore, in 1913, what the government first tried to do was to establish some primary schools. Since then there have been some 11,000 schools established in the Republic of Mexico. They still have need of 20,000 more.

Until 1911 the workman here was not treated as a workman; he was treated inhumanly and there was nothing to prevent this. There was no group or union or association from whom he could get any protection. You must remember that there has always been the difference in race here. It has not been as it has always been in England where both the employer and the worker were English. There has been for four hundred years this difference here between those who came from Europe and those born in Mexico. When the Spanish made the conquest these people were looked upon like serfs of the middle ages in Europe or like the old Roman slaves. He was not admitted to the same community as white men. Many times even officially the Spanish authorities denied the existence of a brotherhood between the native Indians and the Spaniards. That is how the labor problem was for the native at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first organization of labor in Mexico was started by a man by the name of Idar from the United States, but a Mexican by birth, who came here in 1888 and tried to found a lodge of the railroad men. This lasted only a few months. There was no association for the working man at all except a few ritualistic, philanthropic institutions. At the end of the century there was some momentum in labor matters and several associations were started up. The second association of importance was formed in the textile mills in Rio Blanco near Orizaba in 1898. Federal troops took action against the associa-

tion and there were about seventy-eight killed and three hundred wounded in **the street fights between the workmen and the troops**. The salary then for doing twelve hours was about twenty-five American cents. Between 1908 and 1911 some few attempts to form unions were made. With the revolution of 1910 the Casa Obrera Mundial tried to organize the labor movement in Mexico, but they didn't succeed for two reasons. First, in 1913 the government was under the military lead of Victoriano Huerta. He governed for about one and a half years. He was against much of this organization. But after he was gone and President Carranza came to the office, General Obregon succeeded in getting some members of the working group organized. They were from the proletariat in Queretaro and many other places, and by them there was included in the constitution of 1917 the first legislation on their behalf. One year later, at the instigation of Morones, Salcedo and Barragan it was decided to form the General Federation of Labor, and at the first conference they formed the first real Mexican union and what is now known as La Confederacion Region Obrera Mexicana, but usually known under its initials C. R. O. M.

The next convention of this new federation took place in 1919 with 103 delegates assisting, representing fourteen states and about 40,000 members. The C. R. O. M. now has 1,400,000 members. It is today probably the most important power of its kind in Mexico. I say this of it, why? Because it is an associate of the constitutional government of General Obregon and President Calles. The labor movement never tried to take any active part in the government of this country. And they supported all through the revolution, and what is more always tried to keep in good relations with some organization like the American Federation of Labor in the United States.

What was Gompers relation to the labor movement in Mexico? Gompers was most interested from the very start in the possibility of a confederation of Mexican workers. In 1919 at the Mexican meeting at Laredo, with some 1500 representatives, they succeeded in forming a basis for the joining of the American Federation of Labor. This was the first time Gompers had anything to do with Mexico. He liked it here. He came again later and then in 1923 and a little later before he died. Mexicans could count upon him in support of their claim in international affairs and in this country. He had nothing to do with actual organization work. The American Federation of Labor has sent us delegates from time to time. The Mexicans sent representatives several times to the American Federation to see how it was organized.

What is the relationship between the C. R. O. M. and the Catholic church? The Catholic church has nothing to do with the C. R. O. M. and the C. R. O. M. nothing to do with the Catholic church. In some few cases when the church has decided to interfere with either the social or political questions of Mexico, it has fought the C. R. O. M. It fought the C. R. O. M. for many years because it was taking away many Catholics. The church has attempted to organize labor among its members. In 1922 it started to organize a political-social movement. The C. R. O. M. did not think it worthwhile to fight. The organization was never strong. I do not think the total membership of the Catholic church union was ever over 25,000, whereas the C. R. O. M. now numbers 1,400,000.

The average daily salary of the C. R. O. M. workers in such places as Monterey is about one peso and a half and the average salary of the non-organized workman is not more than forty centavos a day. These workers who are not organized realize that they profit by being organized. When they organize now, how does the C. R. O. M. help them? When a new union is formed, the central offices of the C. R. O. M. send out a small library, generally composed of thirty volumes which treat on the general questions about co-operation and duties of citizenship, and they send them periodically publications that

treat on the same subject. They also send out representatives to start the new union or organization. As to the business and agricultural workers, it is done differently. In the city of Guanajuato they organized from the adjacent towns. There the C. R. O. M. started about four unions in 1918. They now are all members of the C. R. O. M. and of the co-operative groups. Today there are about sixty-four unions in Guanajuato.

Are they like the I. W. W. Have they a philosophy thought out? The majority of the laborers are very ignorant. They know only one thing, that they have been starving and they want to stop starving. The laborers have their work. You cannot compare labor here with that in the United States. Here illiteracy is very great. It is said there is about 65 per cent. Prominent business men intimate that these men who make up these labor organizations are so ignorant that you can make Catholics of them or Protestants of them in twenty-four hours. I don't believe it.

Are the labor unions in Yucatan allied with the C. R. O. M.? Both allied and a part of the C. R. O. M., but owing to the distance there, leaders cannot go there from the central offices as well as to some other parts. Felipe Carrillo, the great leader and organizer there in Yucatan for over three years did much to organize labor; he was treasurer or vice-president of the C. R. O. M. when he died.

What has the government to do with the management of the C. R. O. M.? Absolutely nothing. What has the C. R. O. M. to do with the management of politics? Entirely by leaders. The particular leader of labor is Morones and he is minister in Calles' cabinet. Calles was elected with labor votes. Obregon effected the defeat of Carranza with labor votes.

QUESTION: My impression was that labor is a powerful factor in the government; that the government managed the C. R. O. M. politically.

ANSWER: No, only a small part of the activities of the C. R. O. M. are in politics; they do not run to politics. There is complete peace and mutual understanding between Calles and the C. R. O. M. Calles was the first leader of the masses in Mexico. Many times he has declared himself to be a labor man and of the labor party. He did so in New York two years ago, after he was elected for president and before leaving for Europe, and also here in Mexico. So they are working together for understanding and success. The C. R. O. M. has no relationship with the several state governments of Mexico.

QUESTION: What relation has the C. R. O. M. to the labor political party?

ANSWER: It was agreed in 1920 that they needed some way of fighting in Mexican politics, and through the C. R. O. M. the labor party was formed and this labor party talks politics.

QUESTION: For instance, could they put up their candidate, say a man like Morones for president? Are there sufficient leaders in the labor party to put their candidate in?

ANSWER: I don't know. I have just returned from six months being away from Mexico so I am not informed of the present plans of the labor party.

QUESTION: The leaders of the labor party are largely the leaders of the C. R. O. M.?

ANSWER: Yes. Certain of its leaders come from the C. R. O. M., but many of the leaders of the C. R. O. M. do not deal in politics. There are a large number of C. R. O. M. leaders who are not in the labor party. The labor party emanates from the C. R. O. M.

QUESTION: Is it possible to give the number of members of the labor party? Are there 5,000 or 10,000?

ANSWER: Yes, easily; in the election of Calles, he received 1,300,000 votes; probably one million votes were from the labor party.

QUESTION: We have been informed by business men here that there was not fair counting of the votes. Do you agree?

ANSWER: I certainly do not agree. Flores, the counter-candidate, was a man without any prestige. Why should they count badly for him; there was really nobody for him. In some of the cities of the Pacific Coast, in one of which states he was governor, they may have voted largely for Flores, but not in other parts of the Republic.

QUESTION: Are political standards such now that votes will be carefully counted?

ANSWER: I think so. In the last elections a short time ago, there was much importance attached to this and they claim that there was much accuracy and care in the counting of votes.

QUESTION: Is the C. R. O. M. engaged in other advancement?

ANSWER: One of the things they are now trying to do is to form co-operative societies. The economic conditions of the C. R. O. M. at first were such that they had practically no money. Out of about 600,000 members only about 100,000 paid their quotas. Now it is different; probably 90 per cent pay their quotas regularly, which is a very good percentage. The second endeavor of the C. R. O. M., outside of purely social, is the formation of 2000 small libraries which they send out all over the country. They have also formed many night schools for the working men and women. Here, I believe, there are about forty of them.

QUESTION: Are the railroad workers members of the C. R. O. M.?

ANSWER: The railroad workers are not all members of the C. R. O. M. They have been members. The railroad workers were associated with the C. R. O. M. until 1922 when they formed a distinct organization. About one-fourth of the railroad men of Mexico are members of the C. R. O. M.

Protestant Missionaries

THE Protestant Missionaries resident in Mexico City came to the conference room in the Princess hotel on the second day of the group's visit, to answer questions concerning their experiences. The stenographic report of the discussion was incomplete. Only a few of the questions and answers, therefore, can be presented. The identity of those who made answers was not reported. Dr. John Howland, a Congregationalist, the recognized "dean" of the missionary forces, presided.

MR. TAYLOR: We are interested in the Protestant mission group's attitude towards the present day religious question.

ANSWER: We must obey the law, that is the first thing.

QUESTION: In Czecko Slovakia, where people are turning away in such tremendous proportions from the Catholic church to the Protestant church, the people coming from the Catholic church with its appeal to color and beauty do not feel at home. Do you feel that the Protestant church here is trying to appeal to the artistic and colorful? In Czecko Slovakia the Congregational church has a very conservative theology, with individualistic rather than social points of view. Is the Protestant church social here?

ANSWER: Some of our Mexican pastors are very individualistic. People frequently go to extremes, absolutely turning away from old forms. We find in some of the churches a very strong tendency to break away from all the

forms of the Catholic church; for instance, they insist that there shall be no Biblical pictures, no sculpturing or images, fearing that they might have to bow to them. They also insist on an unvested choir and refuse to come to the front in order to partake of the Holy Communion.

QUESTION: Do you think it is the foreign missionaries or the native people who are most interested in perpetuating denominational lines?

ANSWER: The lines are brought in by foreigners but the perpetuation today is more by the Mexican than by the foreigner. Some of the Mexican pastors are intense denominationalists.

QUESTION: What is the attitude of the Protestant Mexican people to the missionaries from the United States?

ANSWER: Usually the very best of friends, the best you can get.

QUESTION: Is there a movement for an independent native organization?

ANSWER: Decidedly, they are practically running it. We recently had the big annual meeting of the synod in our church and some of us had been afraid for several weeks, wondering what the Mexican people thought of us, and wondering if they would not be glad to see us go. There was a two and a half day discussion of the missionary and his work and what his relation to the Mexican Presbyterian church would be. I was surprised and very happy. None of them wanted us to leave the country and they gave us a list of things we could still do and things they wanted us to do in Mexico. We still have a lot of work to do here.

QUESTION: What is the number of adherents to the Mexican Protestant church?

ANSWER: We have no definite information but I should say between thirty and forty thousand, although our enemies say fifty thousand.

QUESTION: How many are there in Mexico City?

ANSWER: I should say about three or four thousand.

QUESTION: How many ordained Mexican Protestant ministers are there in Mexico?

ANSWER: About four hundred.

QUESTION: How many people do you reach with your influence?

ANSWER: The Protestant gospel has spread over the whole country. Everywhere the influence is to be seen. Formerly in the Catholic churches there were no benches; now they have benches and there is also very fine preaching in many of the churches. There are also good talks during the Rosario which is an afternoon service. In the various government departments you will find that most of the heads are Protestant. We are stronger than anywhere else in the Department of Education because they recognize the fact that there is real value and worth to our work. We have members in Congress and in all departments of the government.

QUESTION: What percentage of the public school teachers are Protestant?

ANSWER: We do not know, but there is a very large percentage, considering the Protestant church membership.

QUESTION: Is a man handicapped in politics if he be a Protestant?

ANSWER: In the old days it would have been impossible, now it makes no difference. But we discourage our men from getting into politics.

QUESTION: Is there a coordination of Protestant Mexican forces in Mexico?

ANSWER: A committee of cooperation has held monthly meetings for the past ten years. There was one Mexican and one foreigner for each denomination in that body. At the meeting this month a committee was appointed to arrange for a federal council of Protestant Mexican churches, that will be

purely national, without foreigners.

QUESTION: Is there a youth movement in Mexico, breaking down a lot of old conventions and barriers?

ANSWER: There is, decidedly. We had last February a congress of Mexican Methodist girls. They did not want anyone over thirty years of age to have anything to say in the congress. They asked more freedom to express their ideas. We had 2527 members. During their congress they spent a week deciding whether they would take a stand on war. They reached the conclusion that they condemned war, but when somebody brought up the matter of intervention from the North they all decided they would take sticks and stones and everything else they could lay their hands on and fight. They had no discussion on industrialism. They said they wanted the teaching of Jesus applied, and said that all of us are one blood.

QUESTION: There are Mexican young people in the United States who come from the Protestant church of Mexico. What shall we do with them?

ANSWER: I would like to see them trained as leaders and sent back to Mexico because it is the crying need of Mexico.

QUESTION: Do the Mexicans accept these men who come back more or less Americanized?

ANSWER: They are proud of them, yet a little bit jealous. This, however, depends entirely on the individual.

QUESTION: What is the Y. M. C. A. doing?

MR. TAYLOR, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.: We have recently attempted to enlarge our work. We put on a drive in October during which we received over half a million pesos. Some of this money is being spent for the remodeling of the central building and in opening new centers—one for industrial workers in the eastern part of the city, and a recreation park in the western part of the city. The government has contributed very generously. Our greatest influence has been in the field of physical culture and physical education. Our physical education director is now on a trip arranging for various sport engagements for the coming months. We are deeply interested in the social application of Christianity.

A. W. TAYLOR: We believe there is an emancipation on in Mexico. Do the leaders feel they owe any debt to the Protestant influence?

ANSWER: Do you refer to revolutionary leaders or intellectual leaders?

A. W. TAYLOR: I refer to both.

ANSWER: If you refer to the men of action of today who represent the government and the labor groups, my opinion is there has not been any deep recognition of any part by the Protestant church. Two lectures were given on this subject at the summer school. The history of Mexico was reviewed in its present crisis but no reference was made to Protestantism and its influence in Mexico. One man who lectured was a product of our school but he made no mention of the Protestant influence.

QUESTION: In the viewpoint of Protestant missionaries, do they feel that the present situation in Mexico is indebted to Protestantism?

DR. OSUNA: You must remember that Mexico has been practically controlled by prejudice throughout history. There is a prejudice against Americans and there is a prejudice against Protestants. Many hesitate to express their opinion but privately they admit the influence of the Protestant church. To illustrate the attitude of the government towards us, the government has said that they prefer teachers of Protestant training because they can impart knowledge more intelligently and fairly.

I wish to say something in regard to the recognition of the leaders in

the government towards Protestant schools. This, of course, is confidential and I shall mention no names. I received a telephone call from one of the ministers of the cabinet and he wished to talk to me about securing a school in which to place four orphans in whom he was interested. He said there were plenty of schools around here where he could place the children but he wanted them placed in a Protestant school. Another man did the same a year ago; he said distinctly he wanted a Protestant school. Furthermore the President of the Republic sent his protege to a Protestant school. The minister of the Interior had his daughter in a convent but before the convent was closed he took her out of there and put her in a Protestant school. While speaking to the Minister of Interior he mentioned the fact that in no single instance had they ever had trouble with a Protestant because they have all learned to obey the law and keep it.

An Indian School

DR. J. W. PUTNAM, chairman of a subcommittee of the Taylor group on Mexican education, reported August 5 on a visit to a school for Indians in Mexico City:

One hundred and eighty-five Indian boys appointed by the governors of the states are in this school. These boys have their first opportunity to speak Spanish. They all speak various Indian dia'lects. It was odd to find that two could speak English; they came from near the border. This school was opened in January, this year. The boys all live there. Their aim is to have the boys brought into this school learn what the home is; they live there in a group; they take their meals together. They go to the various public schools to which they are assigned, depending on the grade of the student and what he is capable of doing. They have school book training and vocational training in the public schools; they all take some type of vocational work.

In their school there is a keen young fellow, the physical director. From him they are learning to take care of their bodies. Everybody there must learn to speak Spanish; it is to be the living language. In fact, they all do speak Spanish now. It is interesting how some of those little fellows who have had only two or three months training in Spanish are able to speak. We are entertained by their singing. They sang some songs to show how well they can sing in Spanish. Most of these boys did not know any Spanish at all when they began in January. We also listened to declamations. They seem dramatic; it was rather native to them; although many of the boys did not understand what they were saying, they have the style of real orators.

They are taught how to live under modern conditions. The young man in charge tells us that on the first night they put the boys in their beds. After the lights were out, they went through to look after them and found many of them under the beds. They had never slept in a bed before. All of the sanitary conditions are most up-to-date. They have a small ward for contagious diseases, well equipped. The purpose of the government is to teach these children Spanish, teach them how to take care of themselves, and later how to work, all of which ideas they are to carry back to the tribes or villages in which they will be the leaders. They are to help to make the lives of their people better. I do think that year after year the boys who come into this school and then go back to their people will make excellent leaders.

Important Documents

CERTAIN Mexico City newspaper reports of governmental regulations and announcements in the period immediately preceding August 1, when the penal code covering the religious principles of the Mexican constitution became effective, are included in this report, in translation, because of their aid to clearer understanding.

The following article was translated from *Excelsior*, July 21:

"The notice published by the *Excelsior* in regard to the assumed attitude of the Attorney General of the nation as delivered to the Department of the Interior, who in turn delivered same to the Judge of the first district, towards the thirty-seven priests who refused to make oath and give data to the Council of the Capital (Mexico City) on the information asked for, which is a part of the act in Paragraph II of Article 130 of the General Constitution of the Republic, caused in all social classes and principally in the genuine Catholic element of the capital a genuine sensation.

"The assignation of those priests which was reported to the public exclusively by this paper, produced anticipation although not much surprise, but in the Catholic element it was conjectured that there had been a previous agreement among the priests of the Roman Catholic church in regard to the line of conduct which they should follow in the enforcement of the above mentioned article 130 of the federal charter.

"Now, the news in regard to the assignation of the aforesaid priests has been fully confirmed and for this purpose we have been given the names of all those whom the Judge of the District will from today commence to examine. The agent of the Department of the Interior appointed by the Judge of the First District, Attorney Roman, yesterday applied to the Council of the Capital asking them for data and the antecedents in regard to the circular or notice circulated amongst the priests who officiate in Mexico and the response given by them to the said circular. In the succeeding action taken by the Council on this matter, it is clear from the replies that the priests gave to the Circular which was distributed amongst them, that they had been forbidden to give or render any information asked for; which instructions were given to them by His Excellency, the Archbishop of Mexico, Dr. Jose Mora y del Rio. There existed such an uniformity in the above mentioned replies that all of the priests, in the document directed to the mayor of the city, end with the following religious phrase: 'May God watch over you for many years.' The text of the circular and the replies of the priests condemned served as a basis for the process, which the Judge of the First District has commenced to formulate and in which shall be included the statements rendered by each one of those indicted in order to fully review this matter.

"The priests who are the subject of this judicial inquiry, as well as the parishes to which they belong, are as follows: Jesus Franco, of the Church of Porta-Coeli; Andres Ibarra of Jesus the Nazarene; Jose Ugarte of Monserrat; Antonio R. Espinosa of St. James; Jose Ma. Araiza of Our Lady of Guadalupe (Buen Tono); Salvador M. Garciduenas, of the Church of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Angels; Juan M. Escobar of the Church of Bethlehem of Mercedarios; Adrian M. Cervantes, of the Expiatory Temple of St. Phillip of Jesus; Maclovio Ramirez Lozano, of the Parish of St. Joseph; Carlos M. Velez, of the Parish of St. Catherine the Martyr; Fernando Marin, of the Church of St. Michael; Juan C. Villegas, of the Church of St. Ferdinand; Pedro Benavides of the Church of St. Jerome; Luis Benitez of the Church

of St. Ferdinand; J. Ramirez of the Church of St. Bridget; Tomas Moreno of the Church of the Regina Coeli; Alejandro Silva of the Church of Little St. Jerome; Enrique Hernandez of the Church of Manzanares; Luis Montes de Oco of the Church of the Sacred Heart; Jesus G. Guerra of the House of Prayer of the Sacred Heart; Domingo S. Blancas of the Asylum of Matias Romero; Luis Careaga of the Church of Sta. Maria la Redonda; Ismael A. Laguna of the Church of the Immaculate Conception; Fernado Benian of the Parish of Guadalupe; Manuel Tiberio Ollo of the Church of Carmen; Cipriano Jimenez of the Church of Campo Florido; Raul Silva of the Church of the Sacred Heart, (formerly St. Inez); Mariano Navarro of the Church of the Rosary; and without any definite parish Messrs. M. Martinez and Mauricio Quintas.

"Besides, there have also been condemned the parsons of the temples of Our Lady of Loreto, of the Holy Spirit, of Santo Domingo, of St. Lucas and of the House of Prayer of G. F. Pimental."

The issuance of rules governing private primary schools was reported by Excelsior July 23:

"Yesterday at mid-day the President of the Republic signed the decree for the inspection and guarding of the private primary schools of the District and of the Federated Territories. Said decree contains a radical reform in the rules published by the Minister of Education and decides at the same time the points which were left to arbitration after the discussion of the said rules by the combined committees representing the Department of Education and the private schools, including the Catholic schools. The regulations provide that, at once, all instruction which shall be imparted in these private schools, whether incorporated or not, shall be secular; that within the schools, even when there are boarders, that is, when they are after a manner homes, there shall not exist either chapels or place reserved for prayer; neither shall there be any sketches or charts of a religious nature. All of these schools are under the same official, watchful restriction in the matter of hygiene and of educational programs. Beginning yesterday, the date of enforcement of this decree, there shall be granted to the principals of these private schools a period of grace in which to announce that they have put their institutions in full accord with the said rules.

"Yesterday (the very day) there was sent to the Secretary of the Interior the Regulation above referred to, which reads as follows:

CHAPTER I.

Primary Private Schools in General.

Art. 1. Private primary schools are decreed to be those which are maintained with private funds. In these, the teaching shall be secular; that is to say, religion shall not be taught, defended nor attacked in any manner whatsoever.

Art. 2. These schools may be of two classes: (1) Incorporated under the Department of Education; (2) Unincorporated.

Art. 3. The incorporated schools shall be those that accept the official programs, those that develop to the extent and with the intensity that is required in the similar official schools and which respond to the obligations as placed by this rule. The certificates that are issued to these schools shall have the same value as those of the official schools.

Art. 4. The unincorporated schools are those which do not meet the requirements enumerated in the former article. The certificates issued to

him shall not have the same value as those of the official schools.

Art. 5. The establishment of a school may only be accomplished after those interested shall have made a declaration or statement before the Department of Education, containing: (1) A rough sketch or drawing made on a scale of actual measurements; (2) The designation and location of the school: Through or by the designation of the school, the school shall have no qualifying word to indicate that it has or is of a religious nature, nor a single qualification to indicate that it is dependent upon religious corporations or orders; (3) The kind or class of teaching, whether elementary or upper class teaching, whether day or night, that shall be given in it; (4) The greatest number of boarding school pupils possible, as well as the "half" boarding pupils and day pupils that shall be admitted; (5) Whether the teaching shall be gratuitous or remunerative; (6) Whether incorporated or unincorporated, and its kind.

CHAPTER II.

Of the School Premises.

Art. 6. The primary private schools shall have no hall, room for prayer or chapel especially for religious services, nor in the class rooms, nor in the corridors, nor in the vestibules, nor in the shops, nor in the gymnasium, nor in any other part of the establishment, nor any decorations, pictures, charts, drawings, sculpture or other objects of any religious nature whatsoever.

Art. 7. The school edifices in regard to hygienic conditions must conform to the regulations of the sanitary code.

Art. 8. The department of psychopedagogy and hygiene of the Department of Public Education shall judge or determine the hygienic conditions of the buildings and furniture of the private schools in the meaning of Article 396 of the Sanitary Code in force.

CHAPTER III.

In regard to the teaching force and the pupils.

Art. 9. To be principal of an incorporated school, the following requirements must be complied with: (1) One shall have a moral standing for teaching; (2) One shall not be a minister of any faith; (3) One shall be licensed or shall have obtained the title of professor of education or primary instruction, or shall have had five years, when less, of practical teaching or possess the necessary aptitude for it; (4) One shall not have been discharged in the official schools for incompetence or bad conduct, duly proven.

Art. 10. To be director of a school that is not incorporated, it is required: (1) One shall have the moral standing for teaching; (2) One shall not be a minister of any faith.

Art. 11. The teachers shall possess the requisites as the respective principals excepting that of not being a minister of any faith.

Art. 12. In each incorporated school, there shall be the principal and the necessary teachers to the end that no one shall have more than fifty pupils in his charge, nor more than two groups of pupils, excepting those who teach special subjects.

Art. 13. The pupils in the private schools shall be of not less than the average according to law, as required in the official primary schools.

CHAPTER IV.

Official Inspection.

Art. 14. The Department of Public Education for the advancement of the Department of Primary Education and Normal Instruction, will exercise

the same inspection in the private schools with the object of procuring compliance with Article 3 of the Constitution and with this Regulation.

Art. 15. In the incorporated schools, the inspection of the Department of Primary Normal Instruction shall extend in order to assure: (1) That the course of study shall be the same as the specified curriculum for similar official schools; (2) that the programs of the subjects to be taught shall be developed in accordance with the provision contained in Article 3 of this Regulation; (3) that in principle they shall adopt the same official text books, that if others shall be adopted, it shall be declared or announced to the Department of Public Education, which alone can reject them when they shall be contrary to the religious teaching and the public institutions; (5) that they shall follow the same courses as the official schools along educative methods: (1) that on the final examinations they shall adopt the official grading for the promotion of pupils; (2) that they shall render reports on the teaching asked for by the Department of Education; (3) that they shall render all classes of statistical data on the scholastic operations.

Art. 16. The incorporated schools shall follow the guidance of the official inspectors insofar as deficiencies observed in the development and intensity of the programs.

Art. 17. If the principal of an incorporated school shall not be in accord with the guidance of the inspector or the manner of inspection, he shall then make complaint to the Department of Public Education, which, in consideration of the reports of the inspector, the objections of the principal of the school, from the information solicited and after hearing all points on both sides, shall decide the justice of the case.

Art. 18. The scholastic year for the incorporated schools shall have at least 185 work days; and each day shall have a minimum of five hours and a maximum of six hours. These scholastic work days shall be freely fixed by the principals of the schools.

Art. 19. The lack of observance, duly proven, of the regulations for the incorporated schools, in case of failure to correct such, shall give place to disincorporation.

Art. 20. The temporary or final closing of any school shall be determined by the Department of Public Education, in accordance with the corresponding law, when it has been proven that the actual meaning of religious teaching as in this regulation, has been infringed upon..

CHAPTER V.

Art. 21. The schools of the states that desire to be incorporated by the Department of Public Education shall comply with this regulation and be subject to the inspection of the respective direction of federal public education.

Art. 22. The Department of Education shall grant subsidies to the incorporated schools that impart learning gratuitously or should they merit it for special circumstances.

TRANSITORY—Schools already established shall render within a period of one month, dating from the date of the enforcement of this law, the information required in Article 5."

El Universal published July 23 the following article:

"We insert below the text of the letter that the Pope directed to the Catholics of the whole world, asking that on the first and second days of August, within the Catholic sphere, there may be an hour's prayer for Mexico, that the situation created by the various creeds, shall cease. The letter says:

“The Holy Father, grieved over the religious persecution in Mexico which continues to increase each day, invites all Catholics to unite with him in the special prayers which shall be sent above on the first and second days of August.

“As in the first days of the church, when Peter was imprisoned by Herod, the prayers of the church procured miraculous liberation, so the successor of Peter hopes that the public prayers of the church shall procure the tranquility and peace to her persecuted children in Mexico.

“And, as on the second of August, the faithful, through the intercession of St. Francis, whose death was celebrated in the seventh century, seek from God the pardon, as does the Pope desire that we shall ask the pardon of those who may be persecuting us, in order that they may also recognize their offense in taking away from the church the privileges which it does not seek, besides its essential liberty, to which every institution has a right.’

“Cardinal Gasparri signs this letter.”

In the issue of July 23, El Universal published a statement from Senor Tejeda, Minister of the Interior, and discussed it as follows:

“Engineer Adelberto Tejeda, Secretary of the Interior, did us the favor to give us his opinion in regard to the recent editorial published in El Universal.

“The press,’ said Mr. Tejeda, ‘in the editorials of the day, has come to discuss the reforms made in the Penal Code in regard to religious matters, mainly those which refer to publications of a confessional or religious nature, and are considered to be in violation of Article 7 of the Constitution through the law enacted August 2 of the present year.’

“Article 13 of this law may be judged, omitting the citation of Article 130 of the Constitution, which literally says:

“The periodical publications of a confessional character, even by their program, or simply by their ordinary trend, cannot comment upon national political matters nor give information on the acts of the authorities of the country, nor of individuals who are directly connected with the functioning of the public institutions.”

“By which it is discerned in a clear and definite manner that the government is acting within the rights granted by the Constitution in having set beside the reforms mentioned the corresponding penal ratification.’

“This publication, notwithstanding the opinion of the Minister of the Interior, maintains and continues to maintain that Article 13 of the Law of June 14, 1926, enacted July 2, is unconstitutional. To prove it, it is only necessary to dwell upon that paragraph of Article 130 which is quoted by Minister Tejeda, speaking of publications of a confessional character, as may be seen by their program, by their title or merely by their ordinary trend, inasmuch as the above mentioned Article 13 speaks of ‘periodical publications, religious or MERELY OF MARKED TENDENCIES in favor of a definite religious belief, as much by their program as by their title.’ Under the regulations of this Article 13, it may be understood by the agents of the government to apply even to the magazines which could not remotely be considered confessional, for the sole reason that publishing religious notices or religious opinions they may appear to have religious tendencies: inasmuch as the paragraph in regard to Article 130 of the Constitution clearly establishes that the restrictions refer to magazines of a ‘confessional nature.’

“Besides, in Article 130, it speaks of ‘ordinary tendencies’ or ‘trend’ or it might be ‘common,’ ‘regular,’ according to the meaning given to the word

'ordinary' by the Dictionary of the Spanish Language: in Article 13 of the Law of Reforms to the Penal Code, it speaks of 'Marked Tendencies.' Within this classification of 'marked,' accordingly, it might be easily understood from the Minister that it might be within the judgment of the AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, that from the Encyclic of the Pope to the cross in the 'Prayer to God by him' in the death announcements.

"We insist, therefore, that Article 13 is clearly unconstitutional; it shall, therefore, be necessary to proceed always to appeal for protection each time that it shall be applied."

Excelsior published August 3 a special dispatch concerning the views of General Obregon, formerly President of Mexico:

NOGALES, SONORA, AUGUST 2—General of Division Alvaro Obregon, ex-president of the Republic, who arrived here today, interviewed in regard to the religious conflict, made the following statements to the Excelsior correspondent:

"It is evident that the high dignitaries of the Catholic church have provoked this conflict, when, by the mouth of their highest representative, Sr. Mora y del Rio, they hurled forth their first statements in a spirit of rebellion against the fundamental laws that are enforced by us.

"These statements, without having occurred any incident whatsoever to provoke them, concurred with the international crisis which has been provoked or brought about by the great foreign interests which were thought to have been wronged by the enactment of the petroleum and foreign interests laws, and all of us who know the motives of the clergy in the different international conflicts, both political and armed, with which Mexico has had to contend since her independence, must take note that this coincidence was not a mere happening; that that deliberate act had for its purpose the laying up of another difficulty and to show that the discontented foreigners who are within our very own borders had allied themselves to contest our own constitution, thus placing the faith of the believers at the services of political interests.

"The international crisis was decided sometime ago, but the pride of the high clergy has been too great to be satisfied, and they have dictated a series of commands trying to establish a real struggle against the Federal Government.

"It is natural that in complying with certain laws that had to be enacted by the government as a consequence of this attitude, and through the intervention of authorities of different rank, that certain disagreeable incidents should be registered.

"The conflict will disappear automatically when the directors of the Mexican churches subordinate their now wounded vanity, declaring themselves disposed to obey said laws and to the authorities encharged with the vigilance for the compliance of this legislation, advising this line of conduct to all believers."

President Calles made the following statement to John Page, a representative of the Hearst newspapers in North America, as reported in Excelsior July 26:

"In regard to the questionnaire presented by Mr. John Page, correspondent of the Hearst newspapers, and in which he asked me, first, if the manifesto of the so-called National Defense League of Religious Liberty and its project to bring about the paralyzation of the social and economic life of the country is mutinous; secondly, if the project in question can affect in any way the life in Mexico, socially and economically; and, thirdly, if the government over which I preside can mollify the reforms and additions to the penal code, about

which the members of the League have complained, I desire to state:

"The judicial authorities will determine whether the sheets recently distributed by the National League for Religious Liberty are of a seditious nature or not, though it can already be said that it is attempted to disturb public order, because the economic crisis which is sought by the League will, if achieved, bring about serious disturbances of public peace. However, the purpose of the Catholic agitators will be a failure, and a substantial evidence of the lack of strength of those people.

The economic life of Mexico is not dependent on the activities of groups who are disgusted with the Revolutionary government of the country. Neither the industry and the commerce have ever been dependent on the group of political agitators who have started this ridiculous movement. Besides, the live forces of Mexico have always been developed without being led by those who make use of religion for exhibition purposes or seeking profits. These live forces, in the hands of Catholics, Protestants, or members of any other religious denomination, are not affected by the decisions taken by badly intentioned groups."

President Calles then declared that in order to form an opinion of the present religious situation, it is necessary to remember certain incidents brought about by high church dignitaries, adding that Archbishop Mora y del Rio of Mexico City, on three different occasions, has publicly announced his intention to oppose and fight the Constitution of 1917.

"This cannot be overlooked by the government because it would imply weakness on its part, as it meant a dangerous opportunity to disturb public order," says Calles. "Now what is the government of any country to do, when a social group, religious or otherwise, publicly rejects the fundamental laws of the country, and announces its purpose to fight them, inciting the peoples to repudiate the Constitution? What could my government do but devote its attention to those Constitutional clauses connected with the clergy's protest, and demand a strict obedience of the law? Thus the religious conflict was created. We have had no need to pass new laws, but merely to enforce those already effective since the times of Reform, some fifty years ago, and since 1917 when the present Constitution was enacted. Regulations have been issued establishing penalties in accordance with the law.

"The amendments of the Penal Code, which brought about this curious campaign 'to paralyze the economic and social life of the country', were logically necessary, because, otherwise, the enforcement of the Constitutional clauses would be impossible. Moreover, the clergy were violating them, a fact which they themselves publicly admitted. These penalties were established in accordance with the authority invested in us by Congress. On the other hand, such penalties are neither excessive nor different nor superior from those of the Constitutions in all the civilized world.

"Since the beginning we clearly stated that the Government's conduct, whatever our sentiment or philosophic or religious ideas might be, would not be based on persecution impulses, or rancour, or ill will against the Archbishops and Bishops who had signed the repudiation of the Constitution and the appeal to rebellion, because such were in reality the documents printed by the newspaper El Universal.

"The best demonstration that such is the truth is the fact that we proceeded to enforce the Constitution, knowing well that one of the first results to be derived from our action would be favorable to the Mexican clergy, through the automatic elimination of the foreign priests, who had not signed any protest and were, in some cases, an obstacle for the development of the policies adopted by the bad Mexican clergy. However, they were forced to

abandon the country because it was demanded by the Constitution.

"However, frankly speaking, I believe that rather than the clergy themselves, the ones obstructing the administrative task of the Government are people who agitate themselves close to the clergy and disguise themselves, as I have already stated, with a religious cloak to cover their old reactionary tendencies of hatred of the government and the men of the revolution.

"If we analyze the personalities of these people who organize the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty, or of the Feminist Associations of pseudo-Catholic women who once in a while organize street manifestations with their female servants (most of them being careful to remain at home, and, of course, leaving their husbands behind), or of the more or less well defined groups that have been hampering the work of the authorities for several months throughout the country, we may easily reach the following conclusions:

"Those men are attorneys who must make a strong showing of their religious zeal in order to be pointed out by public opinion as being 'strong pillars of the Church', and as courageous men ready to fight on behalf of their religion, because this will be translated into powers of attorney to handle funds or property belonging to religious institutions, or in appointments as managers or attorneys of the clergy. Also they are enabled to exploit those candid people who believe that the religious sentiments, which are ostentatiously displayed, are sufficient guarantee of honesty and efficiency.

"Another very interesting group of actors in this religious conflict is formed by professional political agitators, who, disguised as Catholics, organized in the past a National Catholic Party which posed as a great friend of President Madero. But, on the day after Madero's murder that Party entered into an alliance with Victoriano Huerta.

"Next came the National Agricultural Syndicates, organized by so-called ranch owners who succeeded in corrupting several revolutionary leaders in 1923. This they did merely with promises because they were, and still are, incapable of raising the necessary funds to pay those they corrupt. These Syndicates before, during, and after my presidential campaign, have been dreaming of misleading the will of the Mexican people, and today they are cooperating with the League for the Defense of Religious Liberty, receiving a weak support from the Archbishop of Mexico. And they keep on repeating in every two lines of their appeal for the paralyzing of social and economic activities, that their purpose is peaceful and orderly, so that if any disorders are brought about by an economic crisis, they may not be held responsible.

"Also the Archbishop and Bishops who are now giving their approval to the proposed campaign, would not like to be held responsible for any possible riots, in which case they will claim that they counselled 'an orderly and peaceful action'. But they do not dare (as they perhaps desire in view of the danger in which they may find themselves should the campaign succeed) to condemn the movement, fearing that the ignorant Catholics might think that their repudiation was an act of cowardice before the 'chivalrous and generous attitude' of the political agitators who are defending the bad Catholicism.

"I know that it is very hard for the people of the United States to understand that there are wicked men who try to cover their political ambitions under a religious cloak. I envy the United States in that respect, and I do know quite well that there is not a single provision in the American Constitution connected with the religious question, because the churches in that country have established a frontier between religious attitude and conduct and political activities and interests, while in our country, since the days of independence to our present times, the intervention of the Catholic Church in temporal and political affairs, has been a constant historical problem, with-

out understanding that such an intervention is the cause of the gradual weakening of the spiritual influence which the Mexican Catholic Church has been experiencing for decades, to such an extent, that today, with the exceptions I have mentioned, and of a small percentage of sincere Catholics unable to see through the intrigues of the agitators, all the other Mexican Catholics, who are good Mexicans, have divided their religious duties from the obedience demanded of them by their bad pastors who are after political or temporal gains.

"Naturally, my Government does not even contemplate to make less drastic the amendments to the Penal Code, used by the political Catholic agitators and the bad prelates in Mexico as a pretext for opposing the social constructive revolutionary work we are carrying out. Each new opposition or demonstration of animosity or desire to hinder my government's work will serve to establish new penalties for those who refuse to obey the laws of the country. Campaigns, like that which is being contemplated, only serve to show the lack of strength of those who planned this criminal movement which, if successful, can hardly injure my government. On the other hand, it would cause irreparable damages to the large majority of the Mexican family. It would also be a victory for the revolution because, if the plan was successful, the above mentioned majorities would despise and hate those 'paralyzers of life in Mexico.' It could reasonably be said of them that they were so wicked and egotistical that they led the majorities to need and poverty and even to death, in order to satisfy, under a mask of Catholicism, old hatreds and bastard political ambitions."

Pro-Calles Parade Legends

THE parade held August 1, arranged by the C. R. O. M. as a demonstration of loyalty to the Calles program in general as well as in the religious controversy, had about 50,000 marchers. Many banners were carried, with legends in Spanish. Some of them, as translated by an American missionary, were:

The inquisition is the Christian work of the Roman church.

Not a woman to the confession and not a cent to the church.

General Calles, here we are!

The Catholic Priest is a parasite on society.

The Roman church displays its pomp, but Christianity despises riches.

Anathema on those who disturb the peace.

Viva Calles, follower of Juarez.

Our Great Constitution has found in President Calles a faithful interpreter.

Catholics, what liberty has the church secured for you? Look for them.

The work of President Calles exalts the government.

We are with the President because he is on the side of reason.

To make the nation great is the work of President Calles.

Sane people applaud the uprightness of General Calles.

The work of President Calles has made him great.

Being on the side of President Calles is to be on the side of justice.

The Pro-Constitution Union of Public Employees.

The confession subverts the morals of the people.

The clergy rich—the people poor.

The Mexican women emancipated from the tutelage of the clergy.

There is no religious problem, it is simply a question of clerical pride.

Anathema on you, disturbers of the peace.

The law supreme and over everybody.

Let the pirates of the conscience tremble.

By their fruits ye shall know them. Matthew 7:10.

Our laws do not approve any religion, but regulate all of them.

Mexican citizens not servants of Rome.

Let those who make merchandise of the temple get out.

The clergy, the enemy of liberty of thought.

Comrades, the common school destroys fanaticism.

To gain temporal power the church poured out rivers of blood.

Catholic education has produced a superabundance of ignorance.

For temple, the universe; for priest, the conscience.

The Pope does not govern Mexico.

Compliance with the law is the salvation of the people.

Down with priestly control.

The rebellion of the clergy has solidified the workers behind President Calles.

With the Mexican money which goes to Rome every year we could alleviate much misery and destroy much ignorance.

Liberals with conviction.

The curate uses the confession to deceive the husband.

The soul of Juarez lives in the breast of Calles.

Let your religion be honor, dignity, study, and work.

The supremacy of Rome cannot be over the sovereignty of Mexico.

Large estates created by blood.

Either Mexicans or subjects of the Pope.

It has been declared a sin to take ice cream, chewing gum and movies.
Is it not treason to try to paralyze the life of the Republic?

Central American Conditions

SOLOMON DE LA SELVA, a native of Nicaragua, a Roman Catholic, educated in the United States, now employed by the Calles government, spoke to the group in the Princess hotel Friday afternoon, August 6, following the address of Dr. Rettinger. He said:

I want to take you to Central America, which has the same labor problems that Mexico had before the revolution and the organization of the federation of labor here. Central America is a continuation of Mexico; or, as we Central Americans put it, Mexico is a continuation of Central America. I mean we are one and the same people. We have the same Indian races. We had the same conquerors; we had the same people to make trouble for us; only Mexico being larger, stronger and more developed in its natural resources than we, has been able to develop its labor movement faster.

The church came to build on the ruins of what the sword had done. The Spanish conqueror came to destroy our Indian civilization; then came the church to build on the ruins of that civilization a new one. The essence of that civilization was and is that all servants, meaning laborers, should obey their masters, meaning the employers, as their gods. That was the principal thing the church did. This civilization the church taught for so many hundreds of years was killing my people. After awhile both the church and the conqueror found that it did not pay to kill them, that it was better to have them as servants. It is true the church has taught some religion of its kind. It is also true it did not forget to make good servants through its teachings. That is chiefly what we have had to fight.

You come to Mexico and find it in a troubled state; imagine what it was before. You can find out by going down to Central America. Come down to Nicaragua and you will find destruction and nothing developed. Everyone wants to grab, just as the Spanish have been doing for centuries, even the United States; and the unfortunate part is that the United States doesn't realize it. The power of the United States is committing murder and the United States thinks it has its conscience clear. There is a government and a church. The government has all the departments a civilized country needs, apparently, but it has no power. The church is just a political school. One comes as a tourist for a few days and sees lovely places. You are taken to a parochial school and you see the children there learning their A-B-C. But the backbone of all this education is that there is a master and they are all taught how to serve those masters as God. The poor are treated just like stock and not very fine stock either. In Latin America you may find very beautiful towns, but if you want to find out how the people live go out of the town. Then you see only huts. In the schools of the Catholic church they are not always taught even to read, but they are taught the catechism, they are taught how they should treat the church, how they should treat the priest, how they should finally treat their masters. Real trade unions were not formed in Central America until 1923. In 1923 the C. R. O. M. began their hard work to start these unions and to gather information. It was then that we began to study the problems of the laborers of the country. The conditions we were trying to solve through the labor movement were these. The Indian had been robbed of all his land. He was living on the outskirts of the town somewhat as a human louse, only he was a louse that could be milked once in awhile in filth and poverty, such filth as you have never seen. The women have many children, one a year. They do not have real houses or even huts; they only have something to cover the roof, so they are a little bit protected from the storms. Sometimes one of them gets a nice fat cow or a nice fat pig so they will have some milk, but about that time comes a government official and he takes that nice fat cow for someone higher up in the government.

There is plenty of work at the plantations when gathering in the coffee, but that season lasts only two months. But that is on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua a great source of wealth in bananas. The banana takes care of producing itself. From one banana plant there will be at least twelve little banana plants. All that is necessary is to see that they start growing. These plants grow in very poor soil, swampy soil. The people who live in this part of the country do not live long. They work hard gathering in these crops; and they do not live very long. I have seen several old men; but that was really a miracle. Down there they get an average of 20 centavos a day, they do not get enough to buy food. There is one very large fruit company that handles the bananas. It is Cuyomel Fruit Company. It is estimated they make a net profit of \$80,000,000 a year. And for all the bananas they take out of Central America and principally from Nicaragua, they leave only about \$100,000. We went on the strike.

We soon decided we could not have labor unions unless we were to have political power. Of what use were they if we did not gain anything, and of what use if the national army will fire on us. Then we organized the Nicaraguan labor party, the arm of the Nicaraguan trade union movement. We have not succeeded yet because we have not been able to control any political movement nor the affairs of the government. Can you imagine trade unions during the Diaz regime? They would have had the Federal Army firing on them, just as they did under Victoriano Huerta.

The conditions in Central America and Mexico are the same. We have

tried to do what the Mexicans have done with much success. Our difficulty in Central America has been with governments which have been helped by the American Marines. If we could have sufficient influence to keep the American marines in check, then we should succeed as Mexico has succeeded.

Rural Social Work

MISS ELENA TORRES, experienced as a social worker in rural Mexico, a member of the staff of the Y. W. C. A. in Mexico City, spoke Thursday morning, August 5. Miss Caroline Smith, introducing her, said, "When I came to Mexico nearly five years ago, I wanted to know what women were doing in organized groups. One of the first places I was directed to and visited was a small group with headquarters in a small room near the Cathedral. There I found Miss Elena Torres. She did a very fine piece of work in organizing the Association Cooperativa Femenista, a small group of very intelligent women. Following study in the United States, she returned at the invitation of Mr. Saenz, the Assistant Secretary of Education, to organize six mission groups to improve conditions in the rural districts. Miss Torres and Mrs. Concha Romero James are the outstanding organizers of women's groups for improving the conditions here in Mexico. I should like to say for the Y. W. C. A. that we have captured Miss Torres from the government. We did not deliberately do it; she had decided to sever her association with the government and to join our forces. She is going to the United States to become acquainted with our plans and then she is coming back to Mexico to start future Associations in Mexico, which will be in the rural districts of Mexico. We shall probably have no more city associations; this will probably be the only city association or center. Hereafter our efforts will be concentrated on the work in the rural districts and Miss Torres will have charge of it; in this Association we will develop a training center for the training of secretaries to go out into these rural districts. She is to be our extension secretary.

Miss Torres said:

I will explain some of my experience in rural work. In 1912 I was a rural teacher, and I learned how bad the situation of people in the country is; but my opportunity did not come until 1922. During the last of that year I organized 9,000 breakfasts for children; then I received some help from government people. Dr. Pruneda, Rector of the University, then in the health department, gave me a nurse who was also a doctor in obstetrics and two other workers. We went to Cuatla, Morelia. In the beginning of my work, (I put eight months into this work), I was in a small village where they had never had schools. I organized a mass meeting in the village which had about 125 families. Each family gave \$4.50 (pesos) towards the buying of material, for the building of the school. I went to the Junta and I told them they had to help me so that we could build this school fast. Well, we had a one-room school in four months.

I told these people they should build homes in which to live. I proposed a plan for the houses: one big room, one small room, a kitchenette, and a small corridor. The plans required only materials they had in the place. If we use things they do not have, we shall not improve their life. Four months after the first sample new home was built, seventeen homes had been completed. I did not take part in all this, only in the first one. It was an example only that they needed.

These people do not have social life in the way we have. They have no organization. When they have rivers, then the boys swim; but in everything they do it is without organization. They do not have good leaders. After independence, they lost all of the leaders. They need leaders to help the life of independence. Then too they have religious needs. The principal thing for the Mexican people is for them to cast off the Catholic church. Because for years and years they have had the priests and the church, they have wanted only the Catholic church; but the church has lost the opportunity to improve the situation. My grandfather was Catholic, but I was out of the church at sixteen years of age because I did not like confession. I never did like to speak about religion. Of course, religion ought to be supported. I am interested in helping Christianity in every church.

QUESTION: What is done about illness in the country? Do they take them to doctors and places where they can be treated?

ANSWER: They have quack doctors. They treat sometimes with herbs. They need doctors and nurses very much.

QUESTION: In Cuba, there are two kinds of physicians. There are the licensed physicians, and the medical students or those who have not yet received their degrees.

ANSWER: Lots of them here do not know much. There are many doctors here in the cities, but few in the country.

QUESTION: Is there a tendency to return to the teachings of Jesus?

ANSWER: They cannot understand between the teachings of Jesus and the teachings of the church.

Miss Concepcion Perez, a Methodist worker in rural districts of Mexico, also spoke, as follows:

I am working in the Methodist church. I was a teacher in the country, so I can tell you what the conditions are. Our country people, the Indians, live in very bad conditions in some ways. Not all the people in the country live the same. The people who live on the coast have adobe houses, very small houses, but they have beds, chairs and tables. They haven't very comfortable houses, but they live better than the people who live here in the altitude, on the mesa. On the mesa the people live in very small adobe houses, with no chairs, beds, or tables. They sleep on the floor on mats. Those mats are also used as tables for meals. Concerning meals, they have in the morning only a cup of tea made of orange leaves boiled in water, and sometimes they have nothing. When they go to work in the fields they have about nine or ten o'clock a meal of tortillas, cakes made of ground corn, frijoles (beans) and chili sauce. At five or six o'clock in the evening they have the principal meal with chili. Very seldom do they have any meat, but chili and frijoles many times, that is, here in the mesa, the cold country. In the hot country they have better meals. They have meat and rice and other things to eat.

When the Protestant churches went to work here, the principal point was to change the conditions of living of these poor people, all their houses and meals and everything. We realized that until we did that we could do nothing. The principal point is to reach these people in the country places and change their lives. If they can be changed, then the country can be changed.

What about the religious conditions? They believe in the saints. They are doing nothing else all the time but thinking about the priests and the saints. The priests have entire control over them. You can see them go to work every day with their suits of clothing in rags, but keeping pennies to buy candles to light in the churches. They sell things and never use this money to make their homes better but use it for the church. They go a long

way, twenty leagues, walking or on donkeys and give the money to the church. That is the thing the Catholic Church is doing.

If you go to the country places, there is no social life. We have tried in our little churches, wherever we could, to make fiestas and picnics and to have little social entertainments, to teach them how to be happy and jolly. They do not know how to live. The Indians almost do not know how to laugh. In the hot country around Veracruz they are happier. They know how to play and dance and sing.

The condition of the women is very bad. The women work very hard. They grind corn in the morning. They do the house work all the time. They go to the mills to work and many times they go to the fields to help the husband. They have no social life. Many of them do not know how to take care of the babies, how to feed them, how to take care of them when they are sick. One of the principal tasks then is to teach them to be happy, how to raise their babies, and how to have real homes. We are training girls in cooking, in taking care of babies, and in taking care of themselves.

The government is doing something. The Protestant churches are not the only ones doing something. General Calles has thought about the Indians. The government is making a campaign for these Indians. There are some schools for them, where they are teaching to speak Spanish, how to farm and how to take care of themselves. Each one has to learn a special kind of work, one a carpenter, one a farmer, etc. In three months they can speak Spanish. Games of many kinds are taught as well as work. They have responded very well. The government cannot teach these boys to be good. The churches must teach them to think right and to do right. Many of these boys have no religion, not even the Catholic. The government is doing fine social work, giving entertainments, teaching how to play, how to take care of babies and all that.

QUESTION: How do the Indians take to athletics?

ANSWER: They respond very well. The great trouble is that they have no leaders.

QUESTION: What do these people do about farming, about raising things for themselves and for market?

ANSWER: The trouble is we have not large enough farms. They all need larger farms. With the little land they have, they raise corn and beans, but they very seldom have any surplus above their own needs.

QUESTION: What do the priests do with the money they collect? Do they use it for the Indians?

ANSWER: No, they never do; they send it to Rome.

QUESTION: We have been told that even if the people do have land, they do not have the money to plant the land.

ANSWER: We have an office in Mexico City where they can get the implements.

QUESTION: Are any of the Indians well-to-do?

ANSWER: Some of them; but only a few.

QUESTION: How large are the farms they are giving to the Indians?

ANSWER: Five acres for a family of five.

QUESTION: These traveling missionaries, what about they?

ANSWER: There were so many calls to the government for help that they have been sending out these missionaries. They have now sent out sixty traveling missionaries. The trouble with the country people is that they have no one to lead them, no one to show them how to go to the governmental offices and get the things they need. They need someone to

show them. One hope of the country is the government schools. There are many who cannot read and write.

QUESTION: Do you travel around in the country from place to place, or are there little churches in most of these villages?

ANSWER: Yes, in most.

QUESTION: In view of your statement that there is no social life, do not the boys and girls have courtship?

ANSWER: Yes, they marry with the friends of the family; they meet in the homes but they have no social life.

QUESTION: Don't they go to the market places and there meet each other?

ANSWER: Yes, but that is not social life; there they have to work to sell. Of course, they have the custom of a marriage feast. In Xochimilco the marriage feast lasts fifteen days and they make a big affair, but not every day do they get married. When a baby is born and baptized, they have another feast. When anybody dies, they have another feast, that is, they get together and drink. But that is not social life.

QUESTION: This social life at marriages and funerals, is it elevating or degrading?

ANSWER: It does not help them.

QUESTION: Do they raise chickens and turkeys? Do they eat them?

ANSWER: Yes, many of them. No, they do not eat them. They take them to market to sell, except when there is a special feast, such as at marriage. They take them to market to get the money for the candles which they take to the church and light.

QUESTION: Don't they have cows and drink milk?

ANSWER: Yes, sometimes, but if they have a cow they sell the milk and save the money, as I have told you.

QUESTION: Don't they give milk to the children?

ANSWER: No, not very much.

QUESTION: Where do they find someone to buy the milk, if they are all so poor?

ANSWER: Even in the small towns there are always some people who have little stores or do some business and they have money, so they buy the milk.

Our Mexican Pilgrimage

By Robert S. Holmes

In an old and musty Pullman
Of a quite decadent brand,
Taylor led our host of pilgrims
To explore an alien land.
Pilgrims famed for erudition
Representing age and youth
Sweltered on the way together,
Zealots in the search for truth.

Armed we were with vised papers
Stamped with high official sign;
Knowing that our fame precedes us
Gaily we approach the line.
Show our scars of vaccination
Leave the rest to Guide Book Joe,
But the Mexicans undaunted
Wave their hands in answer, No.

Back we go across the border
For a cause not understood,
Rumor says we are deported
And some members are too good,
And they feign would ban the preachers,
For they made our curates swear,
They'd not practice their religion
If they'd let them enter there.

To the land of Toltec culture,
To the land of Mexico.
Rolled our dusty group of students
Who would hear and see and know,
We had meetings in the morning
And some interviews at night,
And we learned from native leaders
What was wrong and who are right.

Now our group was open minded
Not a person would take sides
Twixt the masses and the classes,
'Till we knew where truth abides,
So we've gathered information
With a journalistic skill,
And both capital and labor
Are assured of our good will.

So it's home again tomorrow
For authorities are we
And will write for home town papers,
Prophesying things to be
We have spent almost a fortnight,
In the state of Mexico,
And our heads are filled with knowledge
Much of which may not be so.

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